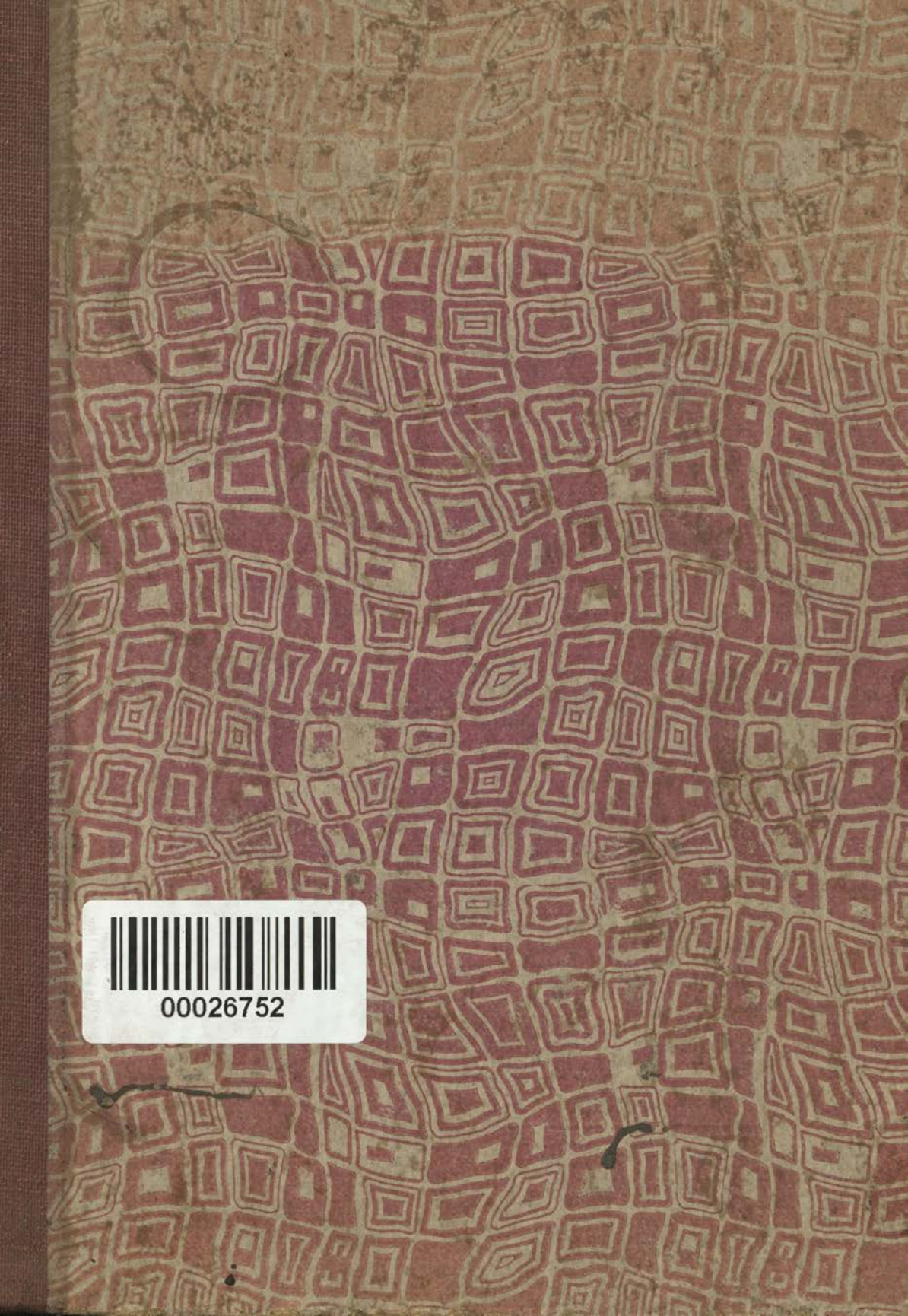
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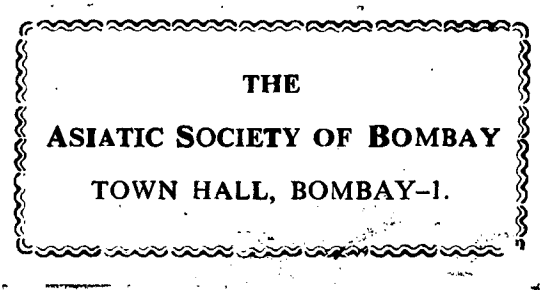

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THE

PRESENT STATE

OF

TURKEY,

OR

A DESCRIPTION

OF

THE POLITICAL, CIVIL, AND RELIGIOUS CONSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT, AND LAWS,

OF THE

OTTOMAN EMPIRE;

THE FINANCES, MILITARY AND NAVAL ESTABLISHMENTS;
THE STATE OF LEARNING, AND OF THE LIBERAL AND MECHANICAL ARTS;
THE MANNERS AND DOMESTIC ECONOMY OF THE TURKS AND OTHER SUBJECTS
OF THE GRAND SIGNOR, &c. &c.

TOGETHER WITH

THE GEOGRAPHICAL, POLITICAL, AND CIVIL, STATE OF THE PRINCIPALITIES OF

MOLDAVIA AND WALLACHIA.

FROM OBSERVATIONS, MADE, DURING A RESIDENCE OF FIFTEEN YEARS IN CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE TURKISH PROVINCES,

BY THOMAS THORNTON, ESQ.

26752 ac

"Nec a festinante et vehementer occupato elegantiam orationis, quam ne meditatus quidem et otiosus præstare posset, æquum est requirere. Me quidem consolabitur nullius mendacii sibi conscius animus; quod est in hujusmodi narrationibus præcipue spectandum."

BUSBEQUII Epist. i.

LONDON:

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PREFACE.

The great number of books which have already been written on the government and institutions of the Turkish empire, seems to render superfluous any further attempt to elucidate the subject. The accounts of different authors are, however, so various and discordant, that it appears no less difficult to reconcile, than impossible to credit, their relations.

Some travellers have avowed other objects of pursuit than the peculiar customs, manners, and opinions of the Turks. Others, less ingenuous, have, notwithstanding, observed them superficially and even falsely, have guessed at what they have not understood, and have described nature, not from an accurate survey of real life, but from the distorted phantoms of their own imaginations.

The European provinces of Turkey, interesting as they are from their past celebrity and their actual importance, are, however, scarcely better known, except in the mere geographical outlines, than the forests of America or the deserts of Africa. The foreign traveller, unfamiliarized with the manners, and unacquainted with the language, of the people

whom he studies, can have only a distant view, or a transient glance, even of the most prominent features of his subject: his descriptions are necessarily hasty and imperfect performances, and, when compared with the original model, resemble rather the dreams of a diseased brain, than the ideas treasured up in the memory from intelligent and minute investigation.

"He who tells nothing exceeding the bounds of probability, has a right to demand, that they should believe him who cannot contradict him." But while the traveller is allowed the exercise of so extensive a privilege; he becomes responsible, in an equal degree, for any abuse of the authority with which he is invested. As I claim for my labours, in common with my predecessors in this career, the same indulgence, I have consequently hazarded assertions which can derive support only from a reliance on the veracity of the author. The remoteness of my subject from general observation leaves, however, the right of censure or contradiction in so few hands, that the reader is justified in withholding his assent until I adduce proof, that the means which I have possessed, and the circumstances in which I have been placed, have qualified me for the task which I have undertaken.

A residence of fourteen years in the British factory at Constantinople, and about fifteen months at Odessa on the coast of the Black Sea; occasional excursions to the provinces of

Asia Minor, and the islands of the Archipelago; a familiar intimacy with the most respectable of the foreign ministers and their interpreters; a long and not unemployed leisure, and a knowledge of the languages of the country sufficient for the purposes of ordinary communication, must have furnished opportunities for original observation, and have enabled me to discriminate, with greater accuracy than the inexperienced reader, between the imaginary and the real in the relations of former writers.

For the general confirmation of these facts I may refer to gentlemen of rank and respectability, not only in this country, but on the continent, and may presume with confidence, that His Majesty's ambassadors at the Porte, as well as the representatives of the continental powers, who honoured me with their friendship in Turkey, will justify my appeal to their testimony.

The state of society in the capital of the Turkish empire is such, that a mere personal acquaintance is the necessary effect of the relative position of all classes of Europeans: But I may boast of having obtained, and preserved uninterruptedly, the friendship of His Excellency Mr. Liston, of Sir Sidney Smith, and his brother and colleague in the embassy, Mr. Spencer Smith, of the Imperial Internuncio Baron Herbert Rathkeal, M. Van Dedem, the Batavian ambassador, M. de Knoblesdorff,

the Prussian envoy, and M. Descorches (formerly Marquis de Sainte Croix) ambassador from the French republic, I have had the satisfaction of being personally acquainted with the most distinguished of the modern travellers in Turkey, and have been gratified by having it in my power to assist their inquiries, and to point out to their observation objects connected with their different pursuits. Some gentlemen have done me the honour to acknowledge that they derived advantage from my communications, and I hope it will not be imputed to vanity that I record the melancholy satisfaction which I received from the expression of gratitude, the last effusions of a heart glowing with every virtue, of a mind enriched with various branches of learning connected together by principles of the most enlightened philosophy.

The name of TWEDDELL is dear to many who knew his worth: he distinguished himself at the university of Cambridge by the elegance of his writings: he had visited the Northern courts, and had travelled over some of the most interesting countries of Europe: if he had lived to complete his tour, his name would have descended with honour to posterity: and although the materials which he left were dispersed and unconnected, those which remained were still sufficient, if collected and arranged by the hand of friendship, to form a monument which might rescue his memory from unmerited oblivion. He died at Athens, and was buried in

the temple of Theseus. Three days before his death he wrote me the following letter, which I value from my respect for its amiable author, and preserve the more carefully as it is the last which he ever wrote.

14th July 1799. "I write to you, my dear Sir, on board of a ship in the harbour of Piræus, which in half an hour hence will transport Mr. Neave to Smyrna, from whence he will proceed to Constantinople. I am desirous that he should not set sail, without taking charge of half a dozen lines for you, because I recollect with continued satisfaction the resources which I derived from your society during my residence at Pera, and promise myself at the same time that you will thank me for having procured you the acquaintance of this gentleman. I do not add a syllable upon any other subject. There is so much noise 'above, around, and underneath,' that I do not know whether the few words which I have written will be intelligible to you. I hope at least you will understand, even though you should not be able to read it, that my best wishes attend you and Mrs. Thornton, and that I am, my dear Sir, ever very truly yours,

J. TWEDDELL."

Placed by circumstances in a country where the general appearances of nature, and more especially the general manners of the inhabitants, are so exceedingly different from those

to which I had been familiarized, I was consequently led to observe, though without having formed any fixed design, the occurrences that were daily passing before me. General manners more particularly attracted my notice, whether from natural taste and the bent of preceding studies, or because, from the means which were in my power, I judged myself qualified to prosecute my inquiries in this department with greater prospect of success. I read the works of preceding travellers, as, by pointing out what chiefly merits attention, they shorten the labour of observation: I selected from their writings such remarks as I found corresponding with the original model, and having thus ascertained their accuracy, I treasured them up in my own mind, and considered them as a legitimate augmentation of the stock of my own knowledge. Attached to no system, having no hypothesis to defend, and being influenced neither by affection nor animosity, I merely accumulated observations and amassed ideas. I studied effects in their different relations without hastily inquiring after causes. It required a long familiarity with the usages of the country, and experience in the manners of the inhabitants, to be able to discriminate between what is genuine and habitual, and what is adventitious and adulterated. It was necessary to observe the same conduct in different persons, to compare it in its various operations, and to identify it under dissimilar circumstances, before incorporating it with that distinguishing mass of peculiar habits which constitute the national character,

and from which particularities and individual features are to be excluded. In the possession of means, adequate to the accomplishment of the task which I had set to myself, consisted the superior advantage of my position over that of the cursory traveller, who must derive his information almost entirely from inquiry. He has previously arranged a series of questions, and he writes down in his tablets such information as he is able to obtain, which must frequently be vague, incorrect, or exaggerated. In his eagerness for information he cannot expect to penetrate beyond the surface: the folds of the human heart do not develop themselves to transient observation; nor are the distinguishing characteristics of mankind written in a language which he who runneth may read.

While I acknowledge my obligations to those whose labours have removed the difficulties which perhaps would have wholly impeded, and certainly would have considerably retarded, my progress, I must however declare, that in almost all the writers who have preceded me in the description of Turkish manners, I discover partiality, prejudice, or defect. I have observed in some instances that accuracy is sacrificed to the beauties of stile, and even to trifling conceits and absurd comparisons.

The European, attached to the peculiar usages of his own country, condemns whatever is irreconcileable with them.

On the other hand the Turkish national historian, whose conceptions are unenlarged by general study, has neglected to mark the nice discriminating traits of the Oriental character, has overlooked defects with which he was familiarized, and has even mistaken deformity for beauty.

In order to learn with precision, it was necessary to return to the state of childhood wherein every object that presents itself is a lesson, to gather together a comprehensive mass of information, to repass it frequently in review, and, as experience advanced, to reject whatever had been adopted without minute examination. I read the human character, not through a verbal translation, but as depicted by its own unequivocal expressions, when acting free from restraint, unguarded by suspicion, unconscious of exposing itself to examination, and exhibiting alternately its different features, as they were alternately put in motion by the predominance of different passions.

Such were my means of acquiring information, and such my mode of employing them. The result of my observations I now submit to the judgment of an enlightened public. In the course of my work I have obtruded myself as seldom as possible on the notice of the reader. If I appear, it is to support assertions which rest on my sole authority, or to give

authenticity to facts by vindicating the correctness of my own statements.

In representing foreign manners I have divested myself of national prejudices; in describing foreign religions I have not confronted them with the opinions and practices of other sects or persuasions: I have endeavoured to avoid those expressions of malevolence which sully the pages of preceding Christian writers. I am not, however, conscious that I have glossed over any error, concealed any absurdity, or misrepresented any dogma, practice, or ceremony. The doctrines of Islamism, founded as they are on the religion of nature and the revelations of both our scriptures, must necessarily possess a considerable portion of intrinsic worth; but this acknowledgment by no means implies respect for the artificial and heterogeneous superstructure which peculiarly constitutes Mahometanism.

I have contemplated my subject under the guidance of my own reason; but I trust it has seduced me into no error which can corrupt the heart or mislead the judgment. I flatter myself that the reader will perceive throughout my work, zeal in the cause of virtue, morality pure though not morose, respect for order in human society, reverence for religious and civil institutions, and, above all, a love of liberty, the characteristical virtue of the nation to which I esteem it an honour to belong.

I am aware that it may be said I have forfeited my title to indulgence by the severity with which I have animadverted on the writings of preceding travellers. I have indeed expressed without reserve the feelings which have been excited by studied misrepresentations, by falsifications of which the author himself was conscious, and by arguments rendered specious in order to mislead; but if in any instance I have censured unjustly, if I have presumed to decide where I was unqualified to judge, if I have been actuated by any other motive than the love of truth, the severity of my own remarks may justly be retorted with tenfold exacerbation. In some instances I may appear to have cut the Gordian knot by too unmasked a blow; but the fallacy of its artifice did not seem deserving of a more elaborate process of disentanglement. I have not sought controversy, but I felt it my duty not to avoid it; and I shall acknowledge the propriety of reproof only when it is demonstrated that any remark could be omitted without injury to truth. My personal acquaintance with several of the modern travellers has neither seduced me into undeserved praise, nor provoked me into bitterness. I have dismissed from my mind every consideration of private partiality or resentment, and having undertaken a work, whose only merit must be its intrinsic accuracy, I have sacrificed every inferior motive to the love of truth and justice.

I have perused some works in which not a single fact is justly stated, nor a single conclusion fairly deduced. I have said so without reserve or equivocation, but the accuracy of each of my assertions may be judged of by the proofs which accompany it. Some explanation is, however, necessary for my having presumed to censure a work of considerable merit, which has attained to great celebrity among the writings of modern travellers. The general merit of a work cannot, however, be pleaded in extenuation of particular blemishes or defects: on the contrary, by how much the more an author proves himself to be deserving of our approbation from the accuracy of his representations and the justness of his remarks, by so much the more does he deservedly incur the severest reprobation, if, presuming on his acknowledged credit, he dares to impose unfounded assertions on the credulity of his readers. Such are the faults of Dr. Pouqueville's Travels, faults made still more conspicuous by the correctness of his information on several interesting subjects where his judgment was left free from any improper bias. His Travels consist of three parts. The first volume contains a description of the Morea, highly interesting from the novelty, the correctness, and the importance of his remarks. The second contains a description of Constantinople. The third volume, composed from the journals of some very intelligent French officers, contains a description of Albania, the ancient Epirus, a country hitherto so little known, and now described with such

apparent accuracy and minuteness, that it forms perhaps the most valuable part of the collection. The first volume, which from its little connection with the subject of the present work I have had few opportunities of commending as it deserves, is, however, all that Dr. Pouqueville can with strict propriety claim as his own original and exclusive performance. He resided during seven months in the Morea under circumstances highly favourable for his undertaking; he studied the modern Greek language, and appears to have made a proficiency in it sufficient for all the purposes of the curious observer and inquisitive traveller. From the Morea he was transferred, by order of the Turkish government, to Constantinople, where he remained during twenty-five months a state prisoner in the fortress of the Seven Towers. Two months after his enlargement he sailed for France. He appears during this short time not to have been in the full enjoyment of liberty, to have been much occupied in making preparations for his departure, and to have possessed no peculiar advantages over other cursory travellers; and he has consequently no claim to extraordinary confidence in his account of Constantinople. The great disparity between the different parts of his work was the more evident to me, because, being myself familiarly acquainted with that in which he is most deficient, I was struck the more forcibly with its inferiority to the other volumes, which I had read with pleasure and improvement. I have pointed out, in the course of the present work, some few of

Dr. Pouqueville's errors, only so far as the refutation of them was connected with the subjects of which I treat. Many remain uncontradicted, but they cannot mislead, if the reader yields his belief only to such assertions as in themselves are probable, to the relation of facts which the author may appear to have had the means of examining, and was not influenced to misrepresent.

Dr. Pouqueville, actuated by a spirit which he himself condemns, labours to perpetuate between two respectable nations that hatred and animosity which the circumstances of a long and obstinate war have sufficiently inflamed. In every passage of his book wherein he has occasion to mention the British name, his choler bursts out. The British vice-consul at Navarin in the Morea, where the doctor first landed, was by profession a tailor, whom the doctor's comrade employed to botch his clothes, and whom he accuses of having stolen a diamond which he had saved in the lining of his pantaloons from the search of the pirates. Commodore Trowbridge is accused by Dr. Pouqueville of having unwarrantably detained a French diplomatic agent, (the Abbé Beauchamp, who was discovered among the passengers in a flag of truce) of having *abused him with the harshest expressions, overwhelmed him with injuries, threatened to hang him at the yard-arm, and being irritated at the Frenchman's calmness, of having seized him by the throat.* Beauchamp was afterwards delivered over to Sir

Sidney Smith. Dr. Pouqueville who wrote, if not under the dictate, at least under the influence, of the French court, bestows on Sir Sidney Smith an eulogium undoubtedly authorized by his government, but unjust in itself because made at the expense of the whole British navy. He could not possibly have foreseen that his panegyric would in so short a space of time as one year be reprobated by the stile and language of the twenty-ninth bulletin of the grand army, and therefore he does not hesitate to say " that Sir Sidney Smith alone upheld the honour of the British flag in the East." Sir Sidney Smith, according to Dr. Pouqueville, being only subordinate in command, was compelled to send the Abbé Beauchamp in a small vessel to Constantinople. On his arrival he was treated as a prisoner, and after three days was conducted to the palace of Bebec on the Bosphorus, in order to undergo an examination before the British minister, Mr. Spencer Smith, and the interpreter of the Ottoman Porte. Dr. Pouqueville again asserts, that Mr. Spencer Smith *abused the Abbé Beauchamp with the harshest expressions, overwhelmed him with injuries, threatened to hang him, and being irritated at the Frenchman's calmness, seized him by the throat!* Are these things possible? Are outrage and inhumanity so inherent in the English character, that men of honour, invested with public dignity, should thus on the slightest provocation sink into a conduct so very unbecoming, and yet so exactly similar in both instances, that it cannot be

otherwise accounted for than by acknowledging, that there exists in our nation an instinctive and unconquerable barbarity? Can it be admitted for a moment, that an officer of distinguished rank in the British service, and that the representative of the British king, should so wholly lay aside the conduct which distinguishes English gentlemen, should so entirely forget the dignity of their public character, as to triumph over the weakness of a prisoner, insult his misfortunes, and by laying violent hands on his person, degrade themselves, and dishonour their country? The conduct with which Capt. Trowbridge is reproached must have been observed by some of the officers and people of his ship, and must have been known to all of them. I have not the advantage of being acquainted with any of the officers who served under Commodore Trowbridge on board the Culloden, but so convinced am I that the charge of Dr. Pouqueville in this instance is calumny, that nothing can re-establish my opinion of his veracity unless the correctness of his assertions be confirmed by the declaration of some of these honourable men. The charge against Mr. Spencer Smith cannot be refuted by such honourable testimony: the only persons present at the conference, besides himself and M. Beauchamp, were two Greek interpreters, Prince Suzzo, *dragoman* of the Porte, and Mr. Pisani, *dragoman* of the British embassy, yet though it be true even to a proverb, that every occurrence, however private, is matter of general

conversation in Pera, and though Mr. Pisani, with a versatility which is not thought inconsistent in a *dragoman*, became the avowed enemy of Mr. Spencer Smith when he had been superseded in the mission, yet never did a syllable transpire which could give colour to such an accusation. Dr. Pouqueville indeed says, that M. Beauchamp related the same story to several persons, and, among others, to M. Ruffin the French *Chargé d'affaires*, and to all the French commercial agents who were at that time at Pera. I have no hesitation in contradicting this assertion: M. Ruffin's veracity is not perhaps to be judged of, in all cases, from the example furnished by Dr. Pouqueville himself, which is related in the seventh chapter (p. 296.) of the present work; but I venture to say that M. Ruffin, who is still living in Pera, will not dare to affirm, in the presence of Mr. Pisani, that M. Beauchamp did accuse Mr. Spencer Smith of such ungentlemanlike behaviour. I was myself intimately acquainted with M. Flury, the consul-general or commercial agent at Bukarest in Wallachia, who was at that time in Pera, and was the friend of Dr. Pouqueville. I have spoken with him on the subject of the treatment of the French prisoners, but never heard from him, or from any other person, the slightest insinuation of this, or any specified accusation against Mr. Spencer Smith. I heard indeed that Colonel Sebastiani had complained in general terms, that the foreign ministers, instead of alleviating, had augmented the sufferings of the

French prisoners; but Colonel Sebastiani had returned to Paris from Constantinople, and no doubt had made his report to the government, long before Mr. Spencer Smith arrived there and met with an honourable reception from the First Consul. Would this have been the case, if Dr. Pouqueville's relation had been so stated to the First Consul, and believed by him to be true? These considerations are a sufficient confutation of the calumny; but in the relation itself let us examine how far Dr. Pouqueville has forfeited his claim to the confidence of his readers. He says, he was ordered by M. Ruffin to attend the Abbé Beauchamp who was dangerously ill at Fanaraki on the Black Sea. He arrived at about sunset at a village opposite to the European Cyaneans, which was inhabited by about six hundred Albanian Turks, a great number of whom were smoking their pipes in a *keosk* near the sea shore. "Some of them began to abuse me," says Dr. Pouqueville, "when I addressed myself to them in their own language to complain of their conduct. Surprized at hearing an European express himself with facility, and more especially without fear, they invited me to sit down beside them, and passed from murmurings to expressions of kindness." Now if in this very outset of his narration it should be discovered that Dr. Pouqueville has deviated into incorrectness, can he reasonably expect that his readers should submit their faith to his guidance through the more intricate and wonderful passages? The question is simple, and the answer, if the hypothesis can

be substantiated, will be obvious. Let us therefore proceed to analyze his assertions, since the national honour is connected with the discussion. The doctor spake to the Albanian Turks *in their own language.* What he means by their own language may be learned from himself, for he has told us, that one of the peculiarities of the Albanians is, that in whatever country they are settled, they adhere, even to obstinacy, to the use of their national language, the *Sclavonic.* But in no part of his work does Dr. Pouqueville insinuate that he knows the Sclavonic language, nor indeed does he appear to have had any opportunity of learning it. Perhaps however he means the Turkish language, which, although not their own, is adopted among the Albanians, and generally known to such of them as expatriate. But it will be shewn in the course of the present work that Dr. Pouqueville is wholly ignorant of the Turkish language. The modern Greek is the only language of Turkey with which Dr. Pouqueville is acquainted. Few, however, of the Albanians, comparatively speaking, know Greek; and the doctor is by no means authorized to denominate it their own language. We are compelled however to conclude that Dr. Pouqueville addressed himself to the Albanian Turks in modern Greek. But so far from this exciting their surprize, the European Turks seem to expect that every Frank should understand Greek, and indeed it is rare to find an inhabitant of Pera who cannot express himself in it at least intelligibly. Greek is the familiar language of female

society, some of the ladies speak no other language, the servants of the Franks are all natives of the Greek islands, and the women servants very rarely acquire even the slightest knowledge of Turkish, or Italian, or French.

Dr. Pouqueville discovers himself in the fictitious parts of his works by employing unnatural figures, inflated expressions, and a style of theatrical declamation. He enters the dungeon of Beauchamp; "the darkness is so thick that the light of the candles can scarcely penetrate through it:" he approaches the truckle bed, and sees his patient "dying under a burning fever and having but a few minutes to live:" the doctor administers relief, but the unwholesome air and fetid exhalations of the dungeon deprive him of the use of his senses; he faints, and the guards carry him into the open air; they however refuse to permit the prisoner to change his abode: the doctor therefore re-enters the cell, the mephitism of the chamber ceases to affect either him or his patient, the abbé recovers, and continues, all through the night, to edify the doctor by relating the wonderful barbarities of the English, binding him under a solemn engagement to reveal them to the world. The conclusion of the story is "lame and impotent" as to the effect which Dr. Pouqueville intended that it should produce, for the abbé, in two days, is well enough to quit his prison, and embark for his native country, and does not die till after his arrival at Nice.

For shame Dr. Pouqueville!—The enmities of civilized nations ought not to survive their open wars; but you have endeavoured to perpetuate them by the basest calumnies. Had you, as you might have done with propriety, declaimed against the barbarism of the Turks, who, on a declaration of war, detained as prisoners, the merchant whom they had invited to settle in their country, the artisan employed in their service, the peaceable citizen, the studious traveller, and the accredited public agent; this would have been an useful and instructive theme. Had you reproached the representatives of the other nations of Europe, even those engaged as parties in the war, that they, who by their influence could have prevented, should suffer, and perhaps connive at, such a violation of the laws of nations, I would have seconded you; for such was the language which I, and several of my countrymen in Turkey, publicly held. Had you traced to this example the outrages of the frantic Paul against the British nation, I would have concurred with you in opinion; for in this instance the Turks were masters to the Russians. Had you held up the more recent injustice of your own government, and pointing to the prisoners illegally detained, and languishing at Verdun, have said, "See how contagious is bad example;" I would have applauded your philanthropy. But when a writer who knows what virtue and justice are, who affects a love of truth, who has himself felt injustice,

and groaned under adversity, when such a writer pleads the cause of inhumanity, justifies violence, and palliates oppression, by representing the aggression under which our innocent countrymen suffer as first provoked by the conduct of the agents of the British government, such a perversion of talents makes us regret that Nature has bestowed them.

Why does Dr. Pouqueville impute to the secret machinations of the allies the inveteracy of the Turks against the persons of their enemies who fell into their power? Was their conduct, during the war against the French, different from their practice on every former occasion? If the infamous Jean-bon St. André, who gloried in the name of regicide, was treated by them with more than usual harshness, is the memory of Baron Herbert to be traduced, as though he had been the mover of the persecution? If we are to credit the last official reports from the grand army, the Russian ambassador at Constantinople, all the Russians in that city, and the Greeks protected by them to the amount of seven or eight hundred, were saved from the horrors of imprisonment, from confiscation of their property, and from death, by the mediation of the French ambassador. If the fact be so, let the French ambassador have his due praise; and let us hope that the government, which can challenge the respect of foreign nations for the moderation and humanity of its

public agent, will condemn, with becoming dignity, its own precipitate conduct, and by an express clause in the next treaty of peace, will prevent the repetition of a violence, which sullies even the Turkish character.

Hackney,
March 2, 1807.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE MANNERS, ARTS, AND GOVERNMENT OF THE TURKS.

National character.—Conduct compared with that of the Romans, —and of the Arabs.—Foreign learning and arts adopted and imitated.—The early sultans patrons of learning.—Mahomet the Second.—State of knowledge and literature.—Language.—Mechanical arts.—Printing.—Deficiency of elementary knowledge. —Husbandry and productions.—Manufactures.—Architecture. —Sculpture.—Painting.—Chronology.—Geography.—Astrology.—Medicine.—Surgery.—Navigation.—Commerce.—Roads and travelling.—Couriers.—Abuse of power.—Evils of despotism.—Practicability of improvement. - - - 1

CHAPTER II.

RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE OTTOMAN POWER.

Origin of the Turks.—Emigration of the Othmanidæ under Soliman Shah.—Osman, son of Ertogrul, founder of the Ottoman dynasty.—Conquest of the Eastern empire.—Oppression of the Greeks,—Jews and Armenians.—Greatness and extent of the Turkish dominion.—Alarm of Christendom.—Consequences of the invention of gunpowder.—System of Turkish government over the Rayahs or tributary subjects,—and over the Mussulmans.—Partition of lands to the conquerors.—Sources of revenue.—Inefficiency of the military and financial systems.—Considerations on the probable destinies of the Turks;—on the justice or policy of expelling them from Europe;—on the emancipation of the Greeks.—The modern compared with the ancient Greeks;—the Athenians,—and the Spartans.—Causes of the superiority of the ancient Greeks,—and of the decline of the national spirit.—Apprehensions of the Turks from the power of Russia.—History of the first war with the Czar of Muscovy.—Consequences of the conquest of Turkey to Russia;—to the other states of Europe,—and to the Ottoman subjects.—Russian church.—Russian government.—Examination of the arguments for dispossessing the Turks.—Remoteness of amelioration. - - - - - 49

CHAPTER III.

CONSTITUTION OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

Code of laws.—Authority and prerogatives of the sultan:—His vicegerents;—His titles,—personal sanctity,—and absolute power.—Laws of succession.—Princes of the blood.—The Ulema, or law-officers:—their classes,—privileges,—functions and powers,—inviolability,—submission to government.—Nature of the fetwa.—Order of legal dignities.—The priesthood.—Grand Vizir.—Divan, or council of state.—Sublime Porte, or Ottoman cabinet.—Domestic and foreign administration.—Government of provinces.—Revenues of pashas:—their modes of life:—precariousness of their offices.—Hazne, or sultan's treasure.—Reflections on the sultan's direct interference in government,—in administering justice,—in conducting war.—Subjection of the people.—Political, civil, and religious distinctions.—Means of redress against tyranny and oppression. - - - - - 91

CHAPTER IV.

ADMINISTRATION OF CIVIL AND CRIMINAL LAW.

Practice of the courts of law.—Administration of civil law.—Mehhkémé or tribunal.—False witnesses.—Inaccuracy of investigation.

- Privilege of Europeans.—Avania.—Proceedings in criminal cases.—Torture. - - - - - 147

CHAPTER V.

MILITARY FORCE OF THE OTTOMANS.

Military divisions of the empire.—Feudal system of the Ottomans.—Ziamets and timars.—Janizaries.—Agemoglans.—Other bodies of infantry receiving pay from the Porte;—topgis,—gebegis,—sakkas.—Cavalry receiving pay from the Porte.—Serratculy or troops receiving pay from the pashas.—Order of encampment.—Tents and camp-equipage.—Method of supplying the army with provisions.—Order of march and battle.—Modes of fighting,—and of defending their fortresses.—Recapitulation.—Turkish laws of war.—Treatment of prisoners.—Turkish navy. - 161

CHAPTER VI.

FINANCES OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND REVENUES OF THE SULTAN.

System of finance under the feudal government.—Divisions of the Turkish exchequer.—Public treasury.—Sources of revenue;—land-tax,—property-tax,—customs,—poll-tax,—monopoly,—mines,—escheats and forfeitures,—coinage,—tribute.—Expenditure of the public treasure.—Sultan's revenues, fixed and casual.—Doweries and pensions.—Nizami djedid. - 216

CHAPTER VII.

RELIGION, MORALS, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS OF THE TURKS.

Physical constitutions and general habits.—Moral and religious education.—Popular belief and practice.—Priests.—Dervishes.—Emirs.—Pilgrimage to Mecca.—Predestination.—Invocation of saints.—Belief in the efficacy of amulets, relics, and enchantments.—Faith in omens and dreams.—Prejudice against pictures.—Punishment of apostacy.—Morality.—Proselytism.—Modes of proposing the faith to unbelievers.—Public charities.—Hospitality and alms.—Tenderness towards brute animals.—Character of the Turks;—their austerity,—irritability of temper,—intemperance in the use of wine,—and opium,—covetousness,—ambition,—hypocrisy,—behaviour to strangers.—Virtues of the middle class.—Clothing of the Turks.—The warm bath.—Turkish luxuries and amusements:—conversation,—story-telling—ombres chinoises,—dancers and gladiators,—athletic exercises.—General health.—The plague.—Mourning.—Interments and funeral monuments. - - - - - 249

CHAPTER VIII.

WOMEN, AND DOMESTIC ECONOMY.

Distribution of apartments in Turkish families.—Subjection of the women;—and their privileges.—Marriage.—Polygamy and

divorce.—Reciprocal duties of the husband and wife.—Domestic arrangements.—Household establishment of the women.—House furniture, and mode of life.—Amusements,—occupations,—and character of the Turkish women.—Primary motives for the seclusion of women.—Inquiry as to its effects in promoting marriages,—in enforcing the observance of the conjugal duties,—in influencing the public character.—Persons and dress of the women.—Harems of Turkish gentlemen,—and grandees.—Imperial harem.—Titles and degrees of precedency among the ladies.—Domestics and guards of honour.—State of the women.—The slave-market.—Public women.—Eunuchs. 335

CHAPTER IX.

MOLDAVIA AND WALLACHIA.

System of Turkish government towards the tributary subjects.—Powers and immunities of the clergy.—Offices of emolument conferred on the rayahs.—Peculiar advantages of the Greeks.—Cause,—and consequences of this distinction.—Exceptions to the usual mode of Turkish government.—Dacia.—Geography of Moldavia and Wallachia:—their departments and dioceses:—seasons, air, and soil:—husbandry and natural productions:—appearance of the country.—Constitution and moral qualities of the inhabitants.—Civil distinctions.—Constitution and government.—Vaivoda or prince:—ceremony of inauguration;—court, officers of state, and body-guards.—Divan or council:—its de-

partments.—Boyars or nobility.—Powers of the divan.—Classes and privileges of the boyars.—Turkish magistrates.—Officers civil and military.—Laws and police.—Revenue and taxes.—Capital cities.—Public establishments.—Manners of the Greeks and the boyars.—Deposed princes.—Foreign relations. 382

ERRATA.

Page.	Line.	
15	14	NOTE *for* orthographie *read* orthographe.
71	3	*for* Thermopyla *read* Thormopylæ.
131	1	*for* rrs *read* errs.
146	1	*for* stop *read* stops.
234	7	NOTE *for* cin bcens *read* cinq cens.
312	18	*for* Turk of the capitl *read* Turks of the capital.
314	3	NOTE *for* oëeffure *read* coëffure.
	5	NOTE *for* au *read* ou.
386	13	*for* a one *read* alone.
407	6	*for* coachmens, cook *read* coachmen, cooks.

CHAPTER. I.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE MANNERS, ARTS, AND GOVERNMENT OF THE TURKS.

National Character.—Conduct compared with that of the Romans, —and of the Arabs.—Foreign Learning and Arts adopted and imitated.—The early Sultans patrons of Learning.—Mahomet the Second.—State of Knowledge and Literature.—Language.—Mechanical Arts.—Printing.—Deficiency of elementary Knowledge.—Husbandry and Productions.—Manufactures.—Architecture.—Sculpture.—Painting.—Chronology.—Geography.—Astrology.—Medicine.—Surgery.—Navigation.—Commerce.—Roads and Travelling.—Couriers.—Abuse of Power.—Evils of Despotism.—Practicability of Improvement.

National character.

THE character of the Turks, as it has been observed in different points of view, has been either held up to admiration, and for an example to surrounding nations, or represented as an incongruous mixture of savage barbarity and effeminate luxury. We have been called upon to emulate their military virtues, and to copy them in their administration of justice; we have also been directed to abhor their undistinguishing severity, or to ridicule their efforts for opposing their enemies. Their government has been envied by

Christian monarchs, as tending to its object with the fewest impediments, and the least obliquity; and it has been decried by philosophers, as the brute exertion of unorganized power.

The genius of a people, and the spirit of their institutions, are best learned from the study of their history; and the annals of the Ottoman nation, as transmitted to us by original historians, represent with fidelity this horde of Tartars, issuing from the deep forests which skirt the Caucasus, impelled by their native turbulence and love of war, and urged onward to universal conquest by the precepts of their religion; terrible to their neighbours, but peaceable within their own community, and restrained in their domestic excesses by veneration for the law, which enforces reverence for the state, though it fail in insuring respect for the monarch. For amidst the most outrageous exertions of violence against individuals, the sovereign power, and the rights of the military and the great body of the people have always been sacred. The Turkish history, like that of other nations, exhibits the progress of uncertain opinions, vain objects of glory, and bloody and useless victories. Their maxims of government, like the policy of other nations, are rather the dictates of caprice than the deductions of reason; and the soil of the most fertile countries in the world, watered with the tears and blood of the inhabitants, reproaches the legislators with their ignorance of the laws of nature.*

* The history of the growth and decay of the Ottoman empire, written in Latin, by Demetrius Cantemir, Prince of Moldavia, contains the most authentic information, as it is composed from the annals of the original Turkish historians. A work entitled, "Crimes des Empereurs Turcs," was published at Paris during the turbulent period

The Turks are stigmatized, by almost every foreign writer, with the imputation of ferocity and barbarism; and even Cantemir himself, in affected imitation of the ancient Greeks, is prodigal of terms of opprobrium and reproach. Peyssonel is foremost of the few who defend them from the general censure; and though the facts he states be all founded in truth, yet their assemblage gives an untrue picture of Turkish manners. The same may be said of their detractors; so that an attempt to ascertain their rank in the scale of civilization becomes a matter of curious inquiry †.

A full investigation and accurate description of the Ottoman nation must be reserved for the more extensive knowledge, and superior talents of a future historian. To describe with impartiality a people among whom every thing is contradictory to our usages,

of democracy; and extracts from it have been presented to the British public as genuine history.

† I consider the Chevalier d' Ohsson as a native historian; for he is an Armenian, born in Turkey, and a tributary subject of the Porte. His *general description of the Ottoman empire*, of which the *religious code* is the only part yet published, gives a correct account of the *ceremonies* and *customs* of the Turkish nation. But their morality, it must be allowed, is in many instances represented rather as it ought to be in conformity with their religious precepts, than as it is actually found to exist. The passages of the Koran, inculcating the fundamental virtues of men in society, because they are continually in the mouths of the Turks, are asserted by D'Ohsson to be deeply engraven on their hearts, and so to regulate their conduct, as *to make them the most humane, and the most charitable of all the people of the earth.* (Tableau Général de l' empire Ottoman, V. iv. p. 302.)

Foreigners indeed run into the opposite extreme, and describe them as universally savage and barbarous,

" Monstrum nulla virtute redemptum
A vitiis,"

on account of the cruelties and excesses committed by the soldiery in time of war.

though not perhaps more repugnant to reason, requires a freedom from prejudice, and a calmness of inquiry, guided by the love of truth, which few travellers are found to possess. Yet, in the scarcity of information, we do not hesitate to receive, as the authentic history of an illustrious nation, a few anecdotes collected by chance, admitted without enquiry, and sometimes misrepresented from perverseness: which is fully as absurd, as if a foreigner were to compose our history from the relations of a captive, or the correspondence of a merchant, amid the distractions of war and the interested reports of commerce.

The national character of the Turks is indeed a composition of contradictory qualities. We find them brave and pusillanimous; good and ferocious; firm and weak; active and indolent; passing from austere devotion to disgusting obscenity, from moral severity to gross sensuality; fastidiously delicate and coarsely voluptuous; seated on a celestial bed and preying on garbage. The great are alternately haughty and humble; arrogant and cringing; liberal and sordid: and in general, it must be confessed, that the qualities which least deserve our approbation are the most predominant. On comparing their limited acquirements with the learning of the Christian nations of Europe, we are surprised at their ignorance: but we must allow that they have just and clear ideas of whatever falls within the contracted sphere of their observation. What would become of the other nations of Europe, if, in imitation of the Turkish government, the highest offices in the state were filled by men taken from the lowest rank in society, and unprepared by education or habit to discharge their important duties?

The Romans, when they had subdued the states of Greece, felt and acknowledged the charms of Grecian literature; nor did they disdain to grace their unconquered necks with the lighter yoke of science. But the Romans were already illustrious in domestic and military virtues, renowned for the gravity of their manners, and the severity of their practical morality: their republic was founded on law; and was rich with the spoils of conquered nations, though temperate in the use of them: and if the citizens disregarded the elegant arts, it was less from ignorance of their value, than from observing in other nations, their connection with luxury and effeminacy. But the Turks, though previously to their emigration they must have possessed, in common with other savage nations, a probity natural to their simple modes of life and the absence of temptation; yet, when forced by circumstances to become warriors, and falling at once upon some of the richest countries of the earth, they were necessarily invaded by all the violent passions of conquerors, and rioted in enjoyment with the keenness of newly excited appetite. If the adoption of a common religion promoted intercourse between them and the inhabitants of the kingdom of Persia, the profession of jarring and mutually intolerant opinions prevented communication with the Christian subjects of the Eastern empire; and the knowledge which the Greeks possessed was beheld by the conquerors with the same contempt as their persons. They conquered to inherit; but they knew no honourable means of subsistence besides arms, and left to slaves and cowards the cultivation of the earth and the practice of the arts. The indefinite extension of their empire, and the universal

Conduct compared with that of the Romans,

propagation of their faith, were the avowed objects of their warfare: and they had consequently a sufficient number of enemies to exercise their courage. The intervals of peace were the seasons of unrestrained indulgence; but these were too frequently interrupted to allow them to sink into effeminacy: thus, they passed from idleness to rapine, and, under different circumstances, they alternately exhibited the ferociousness of barbarian courage, and the vices of luxury.

and of the Arabs.

The conduct of the Turks has also been contrasted with that of the Arabs, who after extending their conquests to the western boundaries of Europe and Africa, cultivated the sciences with success, and preserved literature, which among Christian nations was almost obliterated. But the Arabs, long before the age of Mahomet, were a polished and learned nation; and the attention which they paid to science, when they rested from their conquests, was merely the resumption of their ancient habits. The intermarriages between the Moors and the Christian women, which it is said Almanzor encouraged in Spain, have with much gallantry and ingenuity been held out as the cause of that taste for literature which distinguished the Arabs of the eighth century*; but I

* Survey of the Ottoman empire, p. 14. "Les progrès des Arabes dans les lettres, et les beaux arts ayant suivi ceux de leurs armes et de leur domination *dans les trois parties de l'ancien continent*, on vit bientôt les colléges (savoir, ceux élevés à la Mecque, à Médine, à Kiuffe, à Baghdad, à Damas, en Perse, en Afrique, en Espagne, &c.) cultiver avec le plus grand succès toutes les sciences qui ont tant contribué à la gloire des Grecs et des Romains." (Tableau Général, V. ii. p. 465.)

"Les lettres, les sciences, et les arts eurent de puissans protecteurs dans Haroun I,

doubt whether it be not more just to attribute the invention of algebra and the improvement of medicine, rather to the refined taste of the court of Haroun al Raschid, and the encouragement which learning received from the Caliphs of Bagdad, than to the connubial happiness which the Spanish ladies conferred on their unchristian husbands. The Turks indeed cannot be accused of having neglected these *extraordinary* aids of science; for, after the siege of Nicæa, when the Grecian ladies, in the presence of Sultan Orchan, bewailed the loss of their husbands, the generous conqueror appointed honourable successors from among the officers of his court and army; and the grateful widows spread the fame of his humanity over the neighbouring regions*. The peculiar ferocity of the Turks has been rashly attributed *to the arrogant and barbarous dictates of their religion*†; for the Arabs, a people equally favoured by both Minervas, professed the same religion, and probably with more ardent zeal, as being new converts, and with stronger attachment, from the circumstance of its being first propagated in their own country.

dit Reschid, dans Ahmed III, Aly II, Mohammed VIII, Mohammed IX, mais sur-tout dans Mensour II, et Davoud I." (Tableau Général, V. i. p. 246.)

* Cantemir, p. 26.

† The leading features of the Mahometan religion are very much misrepresented by such expressions. The Chevalier D'Ohsson, who had at least as good an opportunity of knowing the true character of the Turks as any other writer, says, that *the humanity, the beneficence, and the hospitality*, which during so many ages have been the *characteristic distinction* of the nations subject to the law of Islamism, are the necessary consequence of the precepts of the Koran. (Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. 301.)

Foreign learning and arts adopted and imitated.

The Turks, possessed of Arabian and Persian literature, do not perhaps deserve severe reproach for having overlooked the chaster beauties of Greek and Roman learning, which were concealed from their research by the obscurity of an unknown language. They indeed rejected, as useless, the dogmatical knowledge, on which the Greeks valued themselves: but, unless we suppose them to have been previously instructed, they learned all that the Greeks could teach them, of agriculture, of navigation, of mechanics, and of all the arts subservient to the purposes of utility, or even of luxury. The destruction of the ancient monuments of art is not to be imputed to the Turks. Soliman, says Leunclavius, paused at Troas, and admired the remains of stately edifices which the irruption of the Goths had ruined. Preceding irruptions had in like manner annihilated the celebrated labours of Phidias and Praxiteles; and the Turks are blameable, only for having completed the work of destruction, by employing the fragments of ancient buildings, in modern edifices, or for common purposes.

The Turks are reproached with not having imitated the architecture of ancient Greece, nor having corrected one fault, or conceived any idea of proportion, from the perfect models which they have daily before their eyes*. But a slight recollection of history must convince us, that in the capital the Turks could have found no remains of ancient Greek architecture. They have however copied the most perfect model existing there, and have built all their principal mosques in close imitation of the cathedral of

* Survey of the Ottoman empire, p. 208.

Sancta Sophia*. Statuary and painting, it is true, are discouraged by the spirit of their religion; and to their intemperate zeal we must attribute the destruction, or defacing, of all the monuments of *ancient* art, which the Greek emperors had collected for the ornament of the metropolis, and which had survived the rage of faction and the pillage of the crusaders†.

Though war and conquest were the chief occupations of the Ottomans, the early Sultans do not appear to have been wholly insensible to the advantages of learning. Sultan Orchan, in the year thirteen hundred and thirty-six of the Christian æra, founded an academy at Brusa, which became so illustrious by the learning of its professors, that students, even from Arabia and Persia, did

The early Sultans patrons of learning.

* "Ad hujus templi formam omnia fere Turcarum templa sunt constructa." (Busbequii Epist. i. p. 27.)

"If they have fine mosques, it is because they had a fine model before their eyes, the church of Sancta Sophia." (Tournefort, V. ii. p. 181.)

"There are even mosques, particularly those of Sultan Ahmed in the Hippodrome, and of Shahzadé, which are of a lighter construction than Sancta Sophia; and though built on the plan of that ancient Greek church, have surpassed their model. This model, indeed, is far from being a master-piece." (De Tott, V. i. p. 228.)

† "On sait que long-temps avant la chûte du Bas-empire, les fureurs des Iconoclastes, soutenues par le fanatisme de Léon l'Isaurien, et du prince Théophile, avoient porté les coups les plus funestes à la peinture et à la sculpture." (Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. 457.)

A minute and curious description of the ancient statues *destroyed by the crusaders, when they took and pillaged Constantinople in the year* 1204, is given by Nicetas, an historian who held several important offices in the court of the Greek emperor at the time. (Nicet. ap. Fabricii Bib. Græc. V. vi. p. 405.—See also Gibbon's Roman History, V. xi. p. 238.)

Mahomet the Second.

not disdain to become the disciples of the Othmanidæ*. Mahomet the Second, whose victories terminated the Roman empire, repeated an elegant Persian distich on the instability of human grandeur, when he entered the deserted palace of the last of the Cæsars.

" Perdé dary mikiuned ber kysr Kaisar ankebut:
" Bumy neubet mizened ber kuinbeti Efrasiab."

The spider holds the veil in the palace of Cæsar:
The owl stands sentinel on the watch-tower of Afrasiab†.

* Si tous les monarques de cette maison, depuis Osman I, jusqu'à Ahmed I, n'ont pas également brillé sur le trône par leurs vertus et leurs qualités guerrières, presque tous se sont cependant distingués par leur érudition, et leur amour pour les lettres. (Tab. Gén. V. ii. p. 478.)

See in the Tableau Général the state of the thirty five public libraries in the city of Constantinople alone, some of which contain 15,000 volumes, together with an account of the subjects of Persian and Arabian literature. (Vol. ii. pp. 468. 476. 488. 491. 494.)

The public library founded under Mustafa the Third, by the Vizir Racub Pacha, *is the most modern;* and yet De Tott says that *before it there was no such thing at Constantinople.* (V. i. p. 146.)

† Sir William Jones translated these lines before he was acquainted with the customs of eastern courts, or he would have given to his translation the forcible and melancholy colouring of the original. *Perdé* is the curtain, which is spread before the throne, or at the entrance of the hall of state, which the pages draw aside, when strangers are admitted to an audience: but here the office of chamberlain is assigned to the spider. *Neubet,* the martial music, which from the turrets of the imperial residence announces the evening retreat, is replaced by the screechings of the owl.

" Ertoghroul, père d'Osman I, étant gouverneur d'Angora, sous les Sultans Seldjoukiens, faisoit jouer sa musique militaire, *Neubeth,* tous les jours, vers le coucher du soleil, à l'exemple des autres gouverneurs de provinces." (Tab. Gén. V. iii. p. 49.)

The conqueror of Constantinople was renowned among the nations of the East for his piety, his learning, his knowledge of foreign languages, and his acquirements in general science; though Christian writers have represented him as cruel, perfidious, and bloody; without faith, humanity, or religion; and considering piety and justice as virtues belonging to the vulgar. It is however difficult to imagine, that a mind furnished like his, which, in the midst of slaughter, and the exultation of victory, could pause at such reflections, should either wantonly indulge in the unprovoked murder of his newly conquered subjects, or in the destruction and mutilation of the most venerable monuments of antiquity*.

* Cantemir, p. 102. note.—The brazen column in the Hippodrome, which Mahomet is accused of having defaced, is formed by three serpents twisted spirally, whose heads spreading on the sides compose a kind of chapiter: It is supposed to have been brought from Delphi, where it supported the famous golden tripod, which the Greeks after the battle of Platæa found in the camp of Mardonius. Dr. Dallaway, in his description of the Hippodrome, says, "that the three entwisted *bodies* only of the serpents now remain; *one of the heads* was broken off by Mahomet the Second, with a single stroke of his battle axe, in proof of his extraordinary strength." (P. 68.)

It is curious that Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, in her account of this column, should describe the serpents, as at that time, "with their mouths gaping;" (V. ii. p. 250.) particularly as Tournefort, who preceded her ladyship in his visit to Constantinople, expressly says, "that the remaining two heads were taken away in 1700." (Vol. ii. p. 196.) He accuses Sultan Murat of having broken off the first head.

Lord Sandwich says (p. 128.) that "Sultan Amurath, one day passing this way, to make an experiment of the strength of his arm, beat off the head of one of the serpents with his *topouz*, after which his followers, in imitation of their sovereign, destroyed the remaining two." From these examples it may be seen, how little the traditions of Constantinople are deserving of credit; and they may serve to guide our judgment, in determining upon other more serious accusations which are alledged against Mahomet the Second.

State of knowledge and literature.

If we call the Turks an illiterate people it is not because learning is universally neglected by individuals: for, on the contrary, the Ulema, or theological lawyers, undergo a long and laborious course of study; the Turkish gentlemen are all taught certain necessary, and even ornamental, parts of learning; and few children, at least in the capital, are left without some tincture of edu-

Mr. Eton, in his historical account of the siege and taking of Constantinople, says, "that the Greeks who fled for safety to the church of Sancta Sophia were all slain, *and the church was converted into a stable.* Three long days and three long nights the air was shaken with the cries of the vanquished. The Sultan heard it in his camp, and it lulled him to sleep. The dogs ran into the fields howling *with compassion,* or leaped into the sea." After three days the Sultan entered the city; "He made a sumptuous feast for his pashas and officers, *in the holy temple of Sancta Sophia*; and as he sat *banquetting* he caused to be killed, for his diversion and that of his guests, great numbers of his prisoners, of the first distinction, for birth, eminence and learning, among whom were many of the late emperor's relations; and *these feasts* he repeated daily, till he had destroyed *all* the Grecian nobility, priests, and persons of learning, who had fallen into his hands, of both sexes, and of all ages." (P. 145.)

Cantemir, the Turkish historian, was ignorant of the commission of these horrible enormities: and even Gibbon had not the advantage of consulting the authentic documents, whence Mr. Eton has collected the materials for so pathetic a picture. I must confess however that the effect of this history is somewhat weakened, by the *knowledge* we have that the church of Saneta Sophia was converted into a mosque, on the very day of the conquest of the city, (Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. 589.) and that, consequently, the Sultan was not lulled to sleep during three days in his camp, while his soldiers were slaughtering the citizens; that the church was not converted into a stable, or a wine-house; and what is still more consolatory, that it needed no purification from pollution by human blood. (Tab. Gén. V. ii. p. 9.)

The memory of this cruel Sultan, according to Tournefort, continues to spread terror through the seraglio; and "the pages dare not enter the kitchen gardens, ever since Mahomet the Second caused *seven* of them to be ript up, to discover who had eaten one of his cucumbers." (V. ii. p. 246.)

Gibbon (V. xii. p. 184.) calls it a *melon,* and has *fourteen* pages.

cation*. It must be acknowledged, however, that the objects of Turkish study, the rhetoric and logic, the philosophy and metaphysics, of the dark ages, do in reality only remove men further from real knowledge. The instruments, without which the researches of the acutest natural philosopher would be imperfect, are either entirely unknown in Turkey, or only known as childish playthings, to excite the admiration of ignorance, or to gratify a vain curiosity. The telescope, the microscope, the electrical machine, and other aids of science, are unknown as to their real uses. Even the compass is not universally employed in their navy, nor its common purposes thoroughly understood. Need it then be observed, that navigation, astronomy, geography, agriculture, chemistry, and all the arts, which have been, as it were, created anew since the grand discoveries of the two last centuries, are either unknown, or practised only according to a vicious and antiquated routine.

The Turks possess, in their own language or in Arabic, the philosophy of Aristotle and the works of Plato, together with innumerable treatises on astronomy and chemistry, as well as on

* "On distingue dix degrés différens dans la classe des *Muderriss*. Les candidats ne peuvent les parcourir que successivement et toujours par ordre d'ancienneté, ce qui souvent demande plus de *quarante ans* pour parvenir à celui de *Suleymaniyé*, le plus élevé de tous." (Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. 489.)

"Les études particulières des enfans des *Oulémas* sont réglées sur le même plan que l'on suit dans les *Médressés*. Celles que font la jeune noblesse et toutes les personnes qui se vouent à l'état politique, sont moins étendues. L'histoire orientale et les ouvrages philosophiques sont les objets aux quels ils s'appliquent le plus particulièrement. Il en est peu qui étudient la métaphysique, la politique, et les principes du gouvernement, parceque sur ces objets importans, il y a une insouciance presque universelle dans la nation." (Tab. Gén. V. ii. p. 478.)

astrology and alchymy*. But they have no books calculated to advance their progress in the arts, or to teach them the rudiments of science: and a skill in jurisprudence, founded, not on reason and nature, but on positive and imperfect precept; a knowledge of controversy, and the imaginary capacity of ascertaining with precision, whether Abubekir, Omar, and Othman, were impostors and robbers, or the true successors of the prophet; the being able to determine, whether it be necessary, on rising from bed, to wash the feet with water, or only to rub them with the bare hand; though in Turkey they are thought to involve the dearest interests, yet attract from strangers as little respect, as the intricate and inexplicable difficulties, which occupy and disturb the leisure of our own domestic sectaries.

Language. The Turkish language is harmonious and regular, but of intricate and involved construction; sufficiently copious for the purposes of ordinary intercourse, and only defective in terms of art, and expressions adapted to philosophical ideas. No language admits of greater delicacy or nicety of expression, and none is better suited for colloquial purposes. Their polite literature is modelled from the Arabian and Persian, and is not to be judged of by our rules. The Turkish poets, though they debase their compositions by conceit and affectation, and eagerly catch at objects of comparison, wherein there is sometimes scarcely any general similitude, yet have all the beauties, and all the defects of their masters. Mr. Eton says "it is astonishing that they have not

* Peyssonnel—Réponse à M. de Volney, p. 14

perfected their alphabet:" but this reproach does not justly attach to the Turks; they have adopted the Arabian alphabet, which, for ages before the emigration of the Turkish nation, had been found sufficient for all the purposes of science and literature. The want of the vowels does certainly occasion an ambiguity in the pronunciation of foreign words or proper names, which even the vowel-points do not entirely remove: But the omission of these points does not increase the difficulty of reading the ordinary language to a person who is but moderately acquainted with it. The oriental scholar will exculpate the Turks from the charge of being farther removed from perfection in their alphabet than any other nation, and will not expect from them an effort to improve it*.

* I venture to pronounce that De Tott, though he resided twenty three years in Turkey, and was able to express himself in Turkish with tolerable fluency, yet possessed but a superficial knowledge of the language. His proficiency may be judged of by his own declarations; and there are many oriental scholars in England, who will easily detect the ignorance, or the exaggeration, of the following passages.—" When the whole life of a man is scarcely sufficient to learn to read well, little time remains to choose what he shall read for his instruction and advantage." (V. i. p. 9.) " No care can effect the improvement of the Turks, while the difficulties of their language confine all their learning to reading and writing." (V. i. p. 146.) Let us see how D'Ohsson, a professed oriental scholar, speaks of the Turkish language, and the difficulties of learning it. " Le Turc, le Persan, et l'Arabe, ont les mêmes caractères, un même alphabet; et quoique dans cet alphabet il n'y ait proprement que trois voyelles, *une application de quatre mois* est suffisante pour apprendre à lire et à écrire; l'orthographie étant infiniment plus simple et plus conforme à la prononciation que ne le sont pour un étranger le François, l'Anglois," &c. (Tab. Gén. V. ii. p. 474.)

" Cette langue, très cultivée sous les premiers Sultans Othomans, mais particulièrement sous Suleyman I, emprunta les richesses du Persan et de l'Arabe. C'est dans cet idiome, aussi noble qu'harmonieux, que s'écrivent tous les livres historiques," &c. (Tab. Gén. V. ii. p. 473.)

Mechanical arts.

The improved state of the mechanical arts in Christendom, where they are cherished and extended by the rapid communication of the discoveries of innumerable professors of science, makes us regard with contempt the condition of them in Turkey, where they are neither founded on principles, nor connected with each other, but appear merely as the fragments of a system, the wreck of former knowledge; as their practice seems a servile imitation, instead of a regular and intelligent process. In a country where there exists no theoretical or speculative knowledge, we look in vain for architects, for navigators, for mechanicians, for agriculturists. But it would be rash to presume an inferiority in their capacity from the imperfection of their knowledge; or to conclude that they are so besotted by ignorance as even to be vain of it, and because they possess not, that they therefore despise foreign improvements. Though, indeed, there be wanting the mind to guide, we must not permit ourselves to think, that mental superiority would meet with contempt: though there be wanting the judgment to direct their operations, we must not think that such a director would be spurned. The Turks, on the contrary, are deficient neither in talents to comprehend instruction, nor in docility to adopt it. If we find a skilful mason, can we suppose he would execute the plans of genius, with more difficulty than the rude conceptions of ignorant caprice? If the ploughman can draw out his furrow, in an uncurved line, for a quarter of a league, would he unwillingly pursue an improved system of husbandry?* If the mariner have the courage and the skill, to con-

* De Tott. V. iv. p. 118.

duct his vessel through the dangers of navigation, by the mere information of his senses, would he become less capable, if his efforts were aided by principle, and directed by science? If the mechanic, with a rude instrument, can fashion matter so as to answer useful purposes, would he relax in his ingenuity, if the difficulties of labour were removed by better-adapted methods? Their aptitude for improvement is unquestionable: the industry which can persevere through rugged paths beset with brambles, would move on with increased rapidity, over a smooth and level road. Let it not then be said, that *because the Turks believe in predestination,** they necessarily resist instruction; nor let us suppose, that, because they find their way in the dark, they must necessarily become blind upon the approach of light.

Elementary knowledge, so highly appreciated by their ancestors, was already lost to the Greeks, before their necks had bowed to a barbarian yoke: and it requires historical testimony to convince us, that the descendants of the people, whom we respect as the inventors of all that is exquisite in elegance and correctness, could be guilty of so wide a deviation from the principles of taste, as we see in the design and execution of the paintings, the coinage, the sculpture, the architecture, the writings, and even the amusements, of the later Greeks. At the period of the conquest of Constantinople, elementary knowledge had not revived in the west of Europe: in Arabia it had never existed. Whence then could the Turks

* "Perpetually heated with the fever of predestination, they despise whatever is not agreeable to the manners of their nation; the necessary result of which is pride and ignorance." (De Tott. Preliminary Discourse.)

have derived it? They looked around for instruction; but there was no one to teach them: and yet we reproach them for not having restored what the Greeks had shamefully suffered to perish? *

The Turkish government has been accused of extinguishing the light of science, and forcing their subjects into degeneracy. But I doubt the truth of the assertion; and I do not hesitate to believe, that, with the single exception of Grecian literature, knowledge rests on the same basis, and is as correctly carried into beneficial execution, as on their first invasion of the metropolis. The minarets of Sancta Sophia, erected immediately after the conquest of Constantinople, are of less elegant construction than others of more modern date. The early imperial mosques, built by Greek architects, are in no respect superior to the later ones: and men may at

* The Greek prince Cantemir tells us, (p. 92.) "We are not to imagine, with the generality of Christians, that Greece is so far sunk in barbarism, *as not in these later ages to have produced men little inferior to the most learned of her ancient sages:*" and he proceeds to enumerate a long list of persons who flourished in his time, famous for their learning, doctors of great piety, preachers, divines, controvertists, and philosophers of all the old uncorrupted Greek sects; men whose doubtful utility was bounded by their parishes, and whose names have not outlived their anniversaries. In his zeal for the vindication of the honour of modern Greece, he gives an instance of the *bathos*, which outrivals even Blackmore. "The Greeks," said a Persian courtier to Sultan Murad, "who now obey your sceptre, *were once our lords*, and *I have this day found, they justly deserved that honour.* I had heard of their fame in our historians, but never happened to meet with any one of that nation, worthy the character formerly given them. But it has been my fortune to-day, to know a Greek, whom if the rest are like, that race was truly deserving as well of our empire as of your service. *For though I am second to none among our countrymen in music, I am scarce worthy to be called the scholar of this Greek.*" (Cantemir, p. 247.)

this day be found in Constantinople, capable of equalling whatever monument was erected by the lower Greek emperors. The Turks still possess whatever knowledge they once inherited: their patrimony is still unimpaired in their hands: nor are they averse from improvement. Their friendly reception of foreigners might be adduced as a proof of their docility; but I want no other evidence of their liberal encouragement of learning, than their own unassisted efforts to introduce a printing press. * Ruffin, with the ignorance that characterizes a dragoman of Pera, asserts that "the Ulema oppose printing, jealous of that pre-eminence which their science, such as it is, secures them over the people," and that, "from this cause the nation is kept in ignorance, as the elementary manuscripts in every branch, from the dearness of copies, and their small number are insufficient to enlighten them." It is however, a most certain fact, that the Ulema publicly testified their approbation of the new establishment, and imposed no restrictions on the press, except such as would naturally operate to the advancement of learning. Only the Koran, and books treating of the law, and the doctrines of the prophet, were forbidden to be printed; a useful and salutary prohibition, which, at the same time

Printing.

* A Renegado of the name of Ibrahim, encouraged by the grand vizir Ibrahim Pasha, and the Mufti Abd'ullah effendi, first introduced a printing press, in the year 1727. The fetwa of the Mufti, corroborated by the opinion of the first magistrates and most distinguished doctors, declares the undertaking to be of the highest public utility; but the *Khatt'y sherif* of the Sultan, Ahmed the Third, or letters-patent authorizing the establishment, shew a perfect conviction of the advantages of printing. The Sultan felicitates himself that Providence has reserved so great a blessing to illustrate his reign, and to draw upon his august person the benedictions of his subjects and of Mussulmans to the end of time. (Tab. Gén. v. ii. p. 500.)

that it preserves religion in its purity, stifles, even in embryo, that jealousy with which Ruffin upbraids the Ulema.* In Turkey, there is no scarcity of manuscripts; the great number of them on the contrary, is supposed to operate as an impediment to printing, but the rudiments of knowledge do not yet exist there. Let these first be naturalized, or printing itself will be attended with no utility. If these be neglected, or overlooked in the eagerness to introduce civilization, it is to be apprehended, that, instead of attaining the object, we shall but see a *second* instance of the desire of national improvement giving more developement to vicious habits, than to the useful or liberal arts. When public amusements are the natural produce of civilization, and congenial to the manners of a people, they assist and promote urbanity. But I would not wish to see among the Turks, either public assemblies or theatrical exhibitions. Such things are inconsistent with their habits, and if forced upon them, would only introduce confusion. Let their religion and their customs remain unchanged; let them but be taught principles, to correct and methodize what they already know, and the great work of civilization is performed. If the instructions, which they have occasionally received from intelligent foreigners, have not produced their full effect, it is because the principle of the improvement introduced was never sufficiently

Deficiency of elementary knowledge.

* M. Ruffin's remark is the more ridiculous, as the manuscripts containing that science, which gives the Ulema their supposed pre-eminence, are not written in sacred and unintelligible characters, nor is the perusal of them forbidden to the people. The war against their pre-eminence may be even now carried on, without imposing a heavier tax on the public, than the difference of price between a manuscript and a printed book.

developed or explained : the work was left unfinished, and no successor was appointed in the school to continue the instruction.

It will be sufficient to take a rapid survey of the establishments existing among the Turks, in order to convince us, that, though there be much to improve, there is nothing to create. Let us abandon to them the use or the abuse of their language ; let us leave them to their taste in prose and in poetry ; these do but indirectly influence a nation's happiness. Let them pun, and use conceits, and play upon words, and admire all the difficulties which false taste has ever invented ; a habit of correctness, in things more essentially important, will introduce a chaster taste. But let us examine what is the practice of agriculture, and the mechanical arts ; what is the state of such as depend on mathematical principles, or on analogy and research ; what are their notions of trade ; what are their national establishments for the facility of commercial intercourse ; and we shall be convinced, that we can introduce only improvement. We may lament the errors of their government ; but we must not interfere with their prejudices. We must trust to their own improved reflection for ameliorating the state of their Christian subjects, whom we shall only injure by interposing in their behalf, beyond persuasion ; for as their oppressions arise, not so much from the government, as from individual tyranny, no act of government can efficaciously relieve them.

Husbandry and Productions.

Turkey depends upon no foreign country for its subsistence. The labour of its inhabitants produces, in an abundance unequalled in the other countries of Europe, all the alimentary produc-

tions, animal and vegetable, whether for use or enjoyment. The corn countries, in spite of the impolitic restrictions of the government, besides pouring plenty over the empire, secretly export their superfluities to foreign countries. Their agriculture, therefore, though neglected and discouraged, is still above their wants. Their corn, their maize, their rice, are all of superior quality: their wine and oil, though deprived of half their excellence by the unskilfulness and negligence of preparation, are sufficient, not only for the demands of an extensive consumption, but for the supply of several foreign markets. The large exportation of the most valuable merchandize, which they possess beyond the demand for the internal trade of the country, sufficiently proclaims their industry. Their silk, cotton, wool, flax, drugs, coffee, sugar, wax, honey, fruits, hides, tobacco, and other articles of commerce are distributed over the continents of either hemisphere; and the produce of their toil, supports and embellishes the existence of those, who reproach them with idleness. The capital of the empire, though the soil in its immediate vicinity is barren and ungrateful,* receives from the neighbouring villages, and from the surround-

* See Dr. Wittman's Travels, p. 20. Olivier's Travels, v. i. p. 63. The circumstance of the poorness of the soil, is not sufficiently attended to by travellers, who are offended at the neglect of agriculture *on the land side* of the city of Constantinople. Voilà comme sont, et comme doivent être les avenues de la principale résidence d'un peuple, aussi paresseux et aussi ignorant, que dévastateur. (Voyage à Constantinople, p. 147.)

The shores on both sides the Bosphorus, present a very different scene: the ground forms a chain of schistus hills, covered with vineyards and gardens, and beautiful trees and shrubs; and the vallies, which are exceedingly fertile, are in the highest state of cultivation.

ing coasts of both the seas which it commands, all the culinary herbs, and fruits of exquisite flavour, which the most fastidious appetite can require; and from the Asiatic coasts of the Black Sea, all materials necessary for fuel, or for the construction of ships and houses.

Manufactures.

I know not whether Europe can equal, but certainly it cannot surpass them, in several of their manufactures. The satins and silk stuffs, and the velvets of Brusa and Aleppo, the serges and camelots of Angora, the crapes and gauzes of Salonica, the printed muslins of Constantinople, the carpets of Smyrna, and the silk, the linen, and the cotton stuffs of Cairo, Scio, Magnesia, Tocat and Castambol, establish a favourable, but not an unfair criterion of their general skill and industry.* The workmen of Constantinople, in the opinion of Spon, excel those of France in many of the inferior trades. They still practise all that they found practised; but from an indolence with respect to innovation, have not introduced or encouraged several useful or elegant arts of later invention. They call in no foreign assistance to work their mines of metal, or mineral, or fossile substances. From their own quarries, their own labour extracts the marble and more ordinary stone, which is employed in

* "Is it not matter of astonishment, says Mr. Eton, that since the first establishment of their manufactory of carpets, they have not improved the designs, and particularly as they are not forbidden to imitate flowers? The same may be said of their embroidery, and of the stuffs made at Brusa, Aleppo, and Damascus." (p. 208.)

It must however afford equal matter of astonishment, that the designs of Turkey carpets are copied in England: and that in our imitations of the Cachemire shawls, we should still adhere to the designs of flowers, as grotesque as those on Turkey carpets.

their public buildings. Their marine architecture is by no means contemptible, and their barges and smaller boats are of the most graceful construction.* Their foundery of brass cannon has been admired,† and their musquet and pistol barrels, and particularly their sword blades, are held in great estimation, even by foreigners.

Architecture.

The degradation of the arts into mechanical trades, from ignorance or neglect of scientifical principles, is in no instance more discoverable than in their architecture. Their buildings are rude incoherent copies, possessing neither the simplicity nor unity of original invention. They are the attempts of admiration, ignorant of method, to emulate perfection and sublimity; and not the effect of that combination of results, which a creative people have been successively led into by a series of reasoning. Heavy in their proportions, they are imposing only from their bulk: the

* We went on board the Sultan Selim, with Mr. Spurring, the English ship-builder, at Constantinople, and found her to be a remarkably fine vessel: *we were told however, that her timbers were not proportioned to her size, and that she would work very ill in tempestuous weather, and in a rough sea.* (Dr. Witman's Travels, p. 37.) The opinion of Mr. Spurring detracts little from the merit of the ship; for Mr. Spurring, in comparison with M. Le Brun, who built the Sultan Selim, was but as a cypher to unity.

Dr. Wittman was present at the launch of a seventy-four-gun ship, which he says, "being conducted in a very masterly manner, afforded us much pleasure." (p. 96.)

† Olivier says that they were taught by the French to cast cannon; but Tournefort, a century before, had pronounced their cannon to be good. "They use good stuff, and observe a just proportion; but their artillery is as plain as possible, without the least ornament." (Vol. ii. p. 194.)

parts do not harmonize, nor are they subservient to one leading principle: the details are bad, both in taste and execution: the decorations are fantastical, and neither directed by reason nor nature: they have no use, no meaning, no connection with the general design: there is nothing which indicates the conceptions of genius. But in these masses of monstrous magnificence, though we discover the vast inferiority of unprincipled practice to scientific method, we must still admire the skill and industry which has reared and constructed them. The builder may merit our approbation, though we ridicule the architect.* The superiority of their workmen is chiefly apparent in the construction of the minarets, the shafts of which are surmounted by a gallery, whence the people are summoned to public prayer. They do not indeed con-

* Cantemir says, "that in the mosque of Sultan Selim, elegance and art so shine, that to describe its proportions must be acceptable to the sons of Dædalus. It is square and built with square stones, the length of the side being fifty, and the height, seventy cubits. The roof contains the same space with the floor. No arches are drawn from the angles, but the roundness of the roof rises from the walls themselves, so that from the point of the angles is drawn the arch of a circle almost horizontal." (p. 182.) "Sulimanié is built with so much art and elegance, that no structure deserves to be compared with it. This I have heard affirmed not only by Turks, but by foreigners of several nations." (Cantemir, p. 215.) "Sultan Ahmed excels Sancta Sophia in magnificence, though not in largeness." (Cantemir, p. 297.) But these are the descriptions of a Greek. The mosque of Sultan Ahmed is more correctly described by Lord Sandwich, who says, "It might justly be esteemed a most magnificent edifice, if it were built more according to the rules of architecture, of which the Turks have not the least knowledge. The figure of this mosque is a square, the roof of it composed of one large flat dome, and four of a less size; the large one is supported on the inside by four marble columns of an immense thickness, being more in circumference than height; which though fluted, cannot be reckoned an imitation of any of the orders of architecture. All are much of the same model, differing only in extent and magnificence." (Travels, p. 128.)

vey the idea of strength or solidity, the chief end ofarchitecture, yet they please from their picturesque lightness, and the graceful boldness of their elevation.

The monotony of Turkish habits, and the austerity of their customs, chill and repress the energies of genius. Their cities are not adorned with public monuments, whose object is to enliven or to embellish. The circus, the forum, the theatre, the pyramid, the obelisk, the column, the triumphal arch, are interdicted by their prejudices. The ceremonies of religion are their only public pleasures. Their temples, their baths, their fountains, and sepulchral monuments, are the only structures on which they bestow any ornament. Taste is rarely exerted in other edifices of public utility, *Khans* and *Bezestins,* bridges and aqueducts.

Sculpture. Sculpture in wood or in stucco, and the engraving of inscriptions on monuments or seals, are performed with neatness and admirable precision. The cielings and wainscoting of rooms, and the carved ornaments in the interior of Turkish houses, shew dexterity and even taste. Their paintings, limited to landscape or architecture, have little merit, either in design or execution : proportion is ill observed, and the rules of lineal and aërial perspective are unknown.

Painting.

Chronology. They reckon time by lunar revolutions, so that in the space of thirty three years, the Turkish months pass through every season. In religious affairs, they are restricted to this mode; but in order to conciliate it with the revolutions of the sun, they are reduced to

use the Gregorian calendar for civil purposes. As clocks were unknown at the birth of Mahometanism, the hours of prayer were regulated according to the diurnal course of the sun; and the custom is religiously preserved among the Turks, though the use of watches has become general. The civil day begins at sun-set, so that the hours which indicate mid-day and midnight continually vary. To remedy this inconvenience, and to ascertain the hours of prayer, the faithful make use of almanacks, which calculate, according to the degree of longitude of every province, the precise time of the hours of prayer. Their knowledge of geography does not extend beyond the frontiers of their empire. Men in high public offices scarcely know the relative situation of their immediate neighbours, and have no conception that astronomy may be applied to ascertain geographical positions*. Astrology, even

Geography.

Astrology.

* It has been said, that "it is an article of faith, from the Mufti to the peasant, that Palmyra and Balbeck were built by spirits, at the command of Solomon." (Survey of the Turkish Empire, p. 200.) The eccentricities of error are indeed infinite, and even greater absurdities have entered the heads of several half-learned Turks: but with respect to this particular article of belief, though I believe Wood mentions it as prevalent among the Arabs who had built their huts among the ruins of Palmyra, yet I may say that the Turks are entirely ignorant of the existence of these cities.

Dr. Wittman's Journal, so far as relates to what he himself saw and understood, is a valuable collection of facts; and it is to be regretted that he has admitted some anecdotes, upon the authority of vague and popular report. I do not particularly allude in this remark to the following one, though I question the accuracy of it, from knowing that the interpreter, Mr. Vincheuzo, was too ignorant, even of the Turkish language, to communicate intelligibly the substance of such a conversation as General Koehler held with the grand vizir.—"The general told his Highness, among other particulars, that the earth was round. This information caused no small degree of surprise to the Turkish minister; and it appeared, by his reply, that he was disposed to doubt the truth of the assertion. 'If,' he observed, 'the earth is round, how can the people, and other detached objects on the half beneath, be prevented from falling off?' When

in the estimation of the common people of most countries in Europe, is expunged from the list of sciences. This phantom, which has so frequently in former ages drawn men from the blameless tenor of life, and allured them to the commission of crimes, still influences the public councils, and interrupts the private happiness of all classes in this nation.* I remember that the Abbé Beauchamp mentioned, in a company where I was present, that when passing through Aleppo, on his return from Bagdad, the pasha having heard of his arrival, and knowing his reputation for astronomical learning, sent to enquire *what means might be employed with success, for the recovery of a favourite horse, which had wandered into the desert a few weeks before.*

he was told that the earth revolved round the sun, he displayed an equal degree of scepticism, observing, that if that was the case, the ships bound from Jaffa to Constantinople, instead of proceeding to that capital, would be carried to London, or elsewhere." "So much," concludes Dr. Wittman, rather too generally perhaps, "so much for the astronomical and geographical knowledge of a Turkish statesman." (Travels, p. 133.)

* "Il est encore d'usage et même d'une étiquette sacrée dans cette cour, de ne déférer les premières dignités de l'état, sur-tout celle de grand-vézir, de ne lancer à la mer aucun vaisseau de guerre, de ne laisser sortir de Constantinople les escadres destinées à croiser dans l'Archipel, de ne jetter les fondemens d'aucun édifice public, &c., qu'aux jours et dans les momens prescrits par les astrologues.—A cet effet les Sultans Othomans, à l'exemple des anciens Khalifes, entretiennent toujours parmi les officiers du sérail, un homme suffisamment instruit dans les sciences d'astronomie et d'astrologie, sous le titre de *Munedjim Bascky*, ou chef des astrologues." (Tab. Gén. V. i. p. 416.)

Dr. Wittman asks, "Can such a people be formidable?" To which I do not scruple to answer affirmatively: for the greatest and most formidable nations, even to no very remote period in modern history, have believed in the influence of the stars on human actions.

I have constantly observed that they consider the skill of a physician as of the nature of sorcery, and expect from him solutions of difficulties which could only be obtained by supernatural means. I have read of a physician, who acquired great reputation with his patient, from ascertaining the nature of his food by the motion of his pulse: and every pretender to medicine is expected to announce, from the first visit, with the precision of a soothsayer, the minute when death, or a favourable crisis, is to relieve his patient. Their surgery is rude, from want of science, of skill, and of instruments. But though Christian surgeons are in general employed by persons of rank, there is a Persian at Constantinople, who has acquired great reputation, even among the Franks, for setting dislocated bones.* Medicine. Surgery.

In navigation the Turks are, in my opinion, equal to the Greeks in address, and superior to them in courage and perseverance. I judge of both, not from their evident inability to conduct their ships of war, a task to which neither of them are equal, but from their management of the smaller coasting vessels, to which both are familiarized, and in which they are by no means inexpert. I Navigation.

* "Sitôt qu'un barbier sait un secret, il s'érige en Medecin." (Spon, Voyage, p. 205.)

The bastinadoe, according to De Tott, enters into the Turkish pharmacopeia. A pasha had honoured a European merchant with his intimate friendship: the merchant had a fit of the gout; *the pasha had studied a little physic*, and desirous of curing his friend, directed two of his domestics to give him fifty blows on the soles of his feet. The merchant, though he would willingly have dispensed with the administration of the medicine, *found it deserving praise*, for it soon effected a perfect cure. (Memoirs, V. iv. p. 109.)

have at different times crossed the Black Sea and the Archipelago, in Greek and Turkish boats, and have observed the character of both people, in danger and in escapes, in seasons of fair and tempestuous weather. I have admired the equanimity of the Turk; but should be cautious of trusting my safety another time to the bragging temerity and unavailing despondency of a Greek *reis*. I embarked for Constantinople, with two other gentlemen, at the port of Varna, in the Black Sea, in the month of November: our voyage was tedious; but attended with no danger, till we incautiously made towards the mouth of the Bosphorus on a stormy night. I cannot describe the consternation and the dismay of the crew, when, soon after midnight, they observed the land, at no great distance ahead. The common manœuvre of going about would save us: but the sea ran high, and every object was seen through the medium of their fears: confusion prevented the execution of the necessary orders: their intercessions to heaven were interrupted by curses on the passengers, to whose bad fortune they attributed the effects of their own negligence. The pilot was the only Turk on board; and he alone was steady; he alone animated the people to exertion by example and authority, and in a single tack we found ourselves out of danger*.

* They had undertaken the voyage with some unwillingness, as the Black Sea, during the winter, is much more stormy than the Propontis and Archipelago. From Eneada to the Capes of the Bosphorus there is no harbour, so that many of the boats of those, who dare to navigate during the five winter months, are dashed by the north-north-east and north-west winds against the rocks and sands of the southern coast. Their vessels are of the kind called saïques, which are so constructed as not to be able to keep the sea when the wind is strong; and they are obliged to bear away right before the wind, and run for a harbour.

On a former occasion, I had crossed the Black Sea, from Odessa to Constantinople, in a Greek passage-boat. As we approached the Promontory of the Hœmus, a thick fog arose from the vallies and defiles of that chain of mountains, and spread over the sea, so as to prevent our ascertaining the bearings of the coast. In this state of anxious uncertainty, an expedient was resorted to, which, I apprehend, is peculiar to the Greek nation. The cabin-boy, the youngest, and therefore probably the most innocent, person in the vessel, brought a censer with incense, and visited every corner of the boat, and perfumed every passenger, calling for the interference of heaven in our behalf, by incessantly repeating the *Kyrie eleyson.* The *clavous,* or pilot, was appointed, because of his age and experience, to lower down into the sea a hollow gourd, or pumpkin, in which was fixed a lighted taper: and we looked, with devout confidence, for the miraculous dispersion of the fog. The approach of evening prevented the full effect of the miracle; but, providentially, it was calm, and the sea was smooth. Our *reis,* a profligate scoundrel in fair weather, chid the boy with some severity for omitting to light the lamp which ought to have been burning in the cabin before the tutelary saint of the vessel. "I am the more attentive to this duty," said he, "since a circumstance happened to me, which I shall never forget. I was sleeping on the deck, in a harbour, with my people all round me. In the middle of the night I was awakened by some smart blows applied to my houlders: I started up, and saw a venerable personage, with a flowing beard as white as snow, whose countenance expressed anger, and who continued beating me, in spite of my tears and intreaties, till my body was one continued bruise, and I fainted under

the discipline with anguish and terror. When I recovered I found the people still sleeping: they had heard no noise, and had seen nobody; and it was not till I went into the cabin to restore myself by a glass of *raki*, that I discovered the lamp untrimmed, and confessed the justice of the punishment inflicted upon me." Devotion immediately became the order of the day: and every one doubled his evening prayers, and multiplied his crossings and prostrations. An unfortunate "esprit fort," who, while we were at anchor in smooth water, had quoted Voltaire, a name of the same import as Antichrist, was shunned as infectious, and left to perform his sincere, but solitary, penance; whilst the pious circle hung upon the lips of his opponent, listened with edification to the crudity of his reasonings, and exercised their faith by a submission to all the absurdities of his legendary histories.

Commerce. When the minister Colbert inquired of the French merchants, in what manner government could best interpose for the benefit of commerce, they advised him to leave to their management the care of their own interests. The maxim which that enlightened statesman adopted, from a conviction of its utility and its political importance, is followed, unconsciously indeed, by the Turks, from its coincidence with their inertness and apathy. No restrictions are laid on commerce, except in the instance of a general prohibition of exporting the articles necessary for the support of human life to foreign countries, especially from the capital, where alone it is rigorously enforced; and this impolitic restraint will no doubt be removed, when the Turkish government shall become sensible, that what is intended as the means of securing abundance, is in

fact the sole cause of that scarcity which is sometimes experienced. With this one exception, commerce is perfectly free and unfettered. Every article of foreign, or domestic growth, or manufacture, is conveyed into every port, and over every province, without any interference on the part of the magistrates, after payment of the duties. On this subject I speak with the conviction of experience, and may appeal to every foreign or native merchant in Turkey for its general truth. The ideas relative to trade, entertained by all ranks in Turkey, are indeed, if truly represented by Mr. Eton, no less narrow and absurd than all their other opinions. "We should not trade, say they, with those *beggarly* nations, who come *to buy of us rich articles of merchandize*, and rare commodities, which we ought not to sell to them: but with those, who bring to us such articles without the labour of manufacturing, or the trouble of importing them on our part. UPON THIS PRINCIPLE it is, that Mocha coffee is prohibited to be sold to infidels*."

Roads and travelling

The high roads in Turkey are rarely traversed by individuals for other purposes than those of business. The caravans of merchants, both in Europe and Asia, are composed of horses and camels; and merchandize is transported, by these conveyances,

* Survey of the Turkish Empire, p. 238.—Without presuming to question the accuracy of this representation, we may be allowed to ask, who among the Turks have ever held such language.—Is it the law? The law interdicts commerce with no nation.—Is it the governors or magistrates? They exclude no foreigner from their markets.—Is it the Turkish proprietor? He confounds all Europeans under the general name of Frank, and knows no other distinction.

from the Hungarian frontiers to the Persian gulph. Wheel carriages are not unknown, but disused from their not being adapted to the nature of the country.

Couriers. The Tartars are public couriers, much respected for their good conduct and fidelity. Their name by no means indicates their origin, as they are taken indifferently from all the provinces in the empire, and are distinguished by the Tartar Calpack, which they wear instead of the turban. They are strong and hardy: and perform their journies with remarkable celerity. As there is no such establishment as a general post, a certain number of these Tartars are attached to the court, to the army, and to the governors of provinces, and are occasionally dispatched to all parts of the empire. The post-houses in the European part of the empire, through which I have travelled, are well served with horses, and every requisite accommodation is afforded to the Tartars, which their habits of life require.*

* Mr. Griffiths, in order to obtain a knowledge of genuine Turkish manners, travelled in the character of a Greek. He complains of the boorish behaviour of these Tartar guides; but he should not complain, since he chose to assume a character, as little respectable as *a wandering Jew* in our country. A gentleman, who in travelling supported the dignity of his character, speaks of them, as I have always found they deserved. "La bonne foi avec laquelle ce Turc fit accord avec nous m'a frappé." "Il mettoit à nous procurer ce qu'il nous falloit un zèle incroyable, étant plus fâché que nous, lorsqu'il nous manquoit quelque chose." "Les Turcs offrent mille traits de probité pareille. Il y a des professions, où elle est comme un esprit de corps. Les *Kiradjis* de Salonique transportent sur leurs chevaux 50, 60 mille piastres sans donner de reçus, et paient sans difficulté ce qui se perd en chemin." (Voyage à Constantinople, p. 134.)

The most prominent feature in the Turkish establishments, and that which first forces itself upon the attention of the observer, is the abuse of power. Whether this abuse be modelled into that perfection of tyranny which is denominated despotism, has been differently determined by different authors. Their disagreement, however, arises rather from different conceptions of the meaning of the term, than from any variety of opinion as to the nature of Turkish policy. With us the word despotism has so odious a signification, that we connect with it, almost involuntarily, the ideas of violence and injustice: But despotism, considered abstractedly and in itself, is neither more nor less than pure monarchy, one of the three regular modes of administering government, not necessarily including any abuse of authority, or cruelty of proceeding, and differing from the most perfect system of liberty only in the circumstance of the legislative and executive authorities being both vested in one person, instead of flowing from the general will and collected wisdom of the society*. The objects, however, which the law and the power tend to promote, are, professedly at least, in both cases, the happiness of the community; calculated, in one instance, according to the nature and habits of the people, and in the other, rendered subservient, in a chief degree, to the maintenance and support of the monarchical establishment. Yet "under governments of this latter species, unless when some frantic tyrant

Abuse of power.

* "Je suppose trois définitions, ou plutôt trois faits: l'un que le gouvernement républicain est celui où le peuple en corps, ou seulement une partie du peuple, a la souveraine puissance; le monarchique, celui où un seul gouverne, mais par des loix fixes et établies; au lieu que, dans le despotique, un seul, sans loi et sans règle, entraîne tout par sa volonté et par ses caprices." (Esprit des loix, Liv. ii. ch. 1.)

happens to hold the sceptre, the ordinary administration must be conformable to the principles of justice; and if not active in promoting the welfare of the people, cannot certainly have their destruction for its object*."

"A despotism," says Sir James Porter, "I take to be a government in which there exists neither law nor compact, prior to the usurped power of the sovereign; a sovereign, on whose arbitrary will the framing or the execution of laws depends, *and who is bound neither by divine positive injunction, nor compact with the people.*" And comparing the Turkish government with this standard, though he admit that "it is not perfect, or totally exempt from despotism," yet he asserts it "to be much more perfect and regular, as well as less despotic, than most writers have represented it; in a word, to be much superior with regard to the regularity of its form, and the justness of its administration, as well as much less despotic, than the government of some Christian states†."

But though we allow these things in their full extent, and indeed they are not wholly unfounded, and though we admit the restraints arising from religion and the soldiery to be more powerful than they really are, yet we can distinguish the Turkish government by no other name than that of despotism.

* Robertson's History of Charles the Fifth, p. 388, note.

† Observations on the religion, laws, government, &c. of the Turks. preface, pp. 14. 19.

Despotism is in the *nature* and *principle* of a government, rather than in its actual and general practice.* The power of the monarch is not continually exerted in acts of violence: the great, in some degree above the reach of common law, are indeed exposed to all the caprices of the prince: but to the body of the people, laws must be administered, conformable to the great principles of justice, or the state itself will be involved in dangerous confusion.†

The Turkish government has been said to be free from despotism, because, in a despotic state, the law can be nothing but the will of the master, and because universal fear of the monarch is essential to its existence; whereas the sultan is bound by paramount religious law, and the army exerts a power which the sultan himself stands in dread of. But the law, as it is called in Turkey, (improperly, so far as it regards the monarch, unless we really deceive ourselves into the opinion of its divine origin) is but a code of maxims promulgated by the first despot, and transmitted to his successors, as necessary to uphold the existence of that species of tyranny, which he himself had usurped. It is still the will of

* The *nature* of a government, is that which constitutes it what it is. Thus in a despotic state, it is essential that there be no law besides the will of the tyrant. The *principle* of a government, is that which supports and actuates it; and this in despotism is fear: for it can neither use nor listen to modification or remonstrance; it can only command and threaten, and must be obeyed.

† " Il faut que le peuple soit jugé par les loix, et les grands par la fantaisie du prince; que la tête du dernier sujet soit en sureté, et celle des bachas toujours exposée. (Esprit des loix. liv. iii. Chap. 9.)

the despot, rendered permanent as an inheritance to his posterity; and it does not diminish or change the character of despotism. The mere terror of a name could never hold a people in subjection: an armed force at the disposal of the sovereign is necessary to insure its efficacy. But, because an army, however nearly it may approach to it, can never become merely a passive instrument in the hands of a monarch, is it therefore to be considered as counteracting or restraining his power, though it differ from other instruments only in its capacity of being seduced by selfish motives, to swerve from the object of its institution? In the ordinary acts of government, neither religion nor the army are any restraints upon despotism, and certainly not so much so, as the aversion to oppression and spirit of resistance implanted in the nature of man would be, if these restraints were removed. They do not then even mitigate despotism, except over themselves, and in no respect in its exercise over the people. But when these powers feel the oppression of tyranny, and interfere to alleviate it, despotism itself is overthrown, and a temporary anarchy is introduced.*

Dr. Robertson says, "there can indeed be no constitutional restraints on the will of a prince in a despotic government; but there may be such as are accidental. Absolute as the Turkish

* "Un gouvernement modéré peut, tant qu'il veut et sans péril, relâcher ses ressorts; il se maintient par ses loix et par sa force même. Mais lorsque, dans le gouvernement despotique, le prince cesse un moment de lever le bras; quand il ne peut pas anéantir à l'instant ceux qui ont les premières places, tout est perdu: car le ressort du gouvernement, qui est la crainte, n'y étant plus, le peuple n' a plus de protecteur." (Esprit des loix. liv. iii. chap. 9.)

sultans are, they feel themselves circumscribed both by religion, the principle on which their authority is founded, and by the army, the instrument which they must employ." But the prætorian bands in Rome, and the janizaries in Constantinople, though both in the most wanton manner have dethroned, murdered, and exalted princes, have never by their interference, either designedly or accidentally, mitigated the violence, or softened the severity of despotism: and as for religion, if it curb the authority which it supports, it restrains it but from the commission of suicide.*

The disadvantages of despotism are, that it is without resource in its distress: it falls, and does not preserve a basis on which to found its re-establishment. In Turkey this inconvenience is however confined to the individual: the purity of the succession, and

Evils of despotism.

* " Il y a pourtant une chose que l'on peut quelquefois opposer à la volonté du prince, c'est la religion. On abandonnera son pere, on le tuera même, si le prince l'ordonne: mais on ne boira pas du vin, s'il le veut et s'il l'ordonne. Les loix de la religion sont d'un précepte supérieur parcequ' elles sont données sur la tête du prince comme sur celle des sujets." (Esprit des loix. liv. iii. chap. 10.)

But what is the whole weight of the restriction which religion imposes on the actions of princes? It requires from them conformity to established rites and ceremonies. It indeed preaches virtue; but no religion subjects the moral conduct of governors to the judgment of the people. It addresses itself to the conscience of the individual, directly and immediately. Its language to those who would interfere with its august functions, is, " let him among you who is without sin, cast the first stone."

The Mahometan religion inculcates the reciprocal duties to be observed by the prince and his subjects; but though it teaches, it cannot enforce, a just administration of government. The only condition imposed upon the sultan, is the profession of the Mahometan faith, and conformity to the ceremonial of the Mahometan church; and though the practice of every regal virtue be more consistent with these duties, yet they are not incompatible with the exercise of the most atrocious tyranny

the plenitude of power, are guarded by the religion, and universal prejudices of the nation. It is for this reason that the Turkish insurrections are observed to resemble hurricanes, which in their course overturn and ravage the country, but pass on and are lost in the dust which they have raised.

Perfect despotism, unmitigated in its exercise by the collision with human passions, to the honour of human nature be it said, is but an ideal existence, a metaphysical abstraction. Æsop the fabulist, and the president Montesquieu, when they would raise our abhorrence of so degrading a system, are obliged to delineate it, not as it is observed to subsist in human society, but by comparisons drawn from the ignorant or savage abuse of power over brute or inanimate matter.* It would therefore be an unfair conclusion that, because we characterize the Turkish government as a despotism, from an examination both of its nature and principle, we should therefore admit all its possible atrocities as really existing in practice †.

* See Phædrus's fables, book. i. fab. 3.

The following is the *chapter* in l' esprit des loix, entitled " Idée du despotisme."

" Quand les sauvages de la Louisiane veulent avoir du fruit, ils coupent l'arbre au pied, et cueillent le fruit. Voilà le gouvernement despotique. (Liv. v. c. 13.)

† " If by despotism," says Mr. Eton, " be meant a power originating in force, and upheld by the same means to which it owed its establishment; a power scorning the jurisdiction of reason, and forbidding the temerity of investigation; a power calculated to cramp the growing energies of mind, and annihilating the faculties of man, in order to insure his dependence, the government of Turkey may be most faithfully characterized by that name." (Survey of the Turkish Emp. p. 17.)

De Tott, in compliment to the theory of Montesquieu, (a flattery which that veracious author would have disdained) has distorted even the hideousness of arbitrary power. Fear is the principle of a despotic government; and, "the Turk, incited to violence by despotism, wishes, but fears, to commit murder, until intoxication puts him on a level with the despot." Honour, the leading principle in a monarchy, is unknown under despotism; and De Tott, in contradiction, I may say, to his own positive knowledge, denies even the existence of the word in the Turkish vocabulary. The indolent Turk indulges in the natural taste of reclining under the shade of great trees, "because despotism," which suffers him to pass on almost unwrinkled from infancy to decrepitude, "will not allow him to wait the growth of trees." "Their compassion for brutes arises from the pride of despotism, which, while it confounds all beings, chuses its favourites from among the weakest."*

It is almost unnecessary to point out the incorrectness of this passage. The Ottoman national power indeed originated in force, was founded on conquest, and must still be upheld by force. But the power of the Ottoman sultans over their subjects, which is the matter of the present discussion, is as legitimate in its origin and its progress, as that of every other sovereign in the world. In its present state, so far from supporting itself by force, it appeals only to reason; the reason indeed of the nation, which bounds investigation by the precepts of the koran. Mr. Eton's representation of its effects may perhaps be thought exaggerated, upon a more familiar acquaintance with the nation which is governed by it.

* De Tott seems desirous of paying such a compliment to Montesquieu, as that which the French philosophers, sent by the court of Versailles to measure an arch of the meridian in different parts of the world, paid to Newton on their return, when they had ascertained, *by their labours*, the accuracy of *his theory* respecting the true figure of the earth.

Compare "Esprit des loix," liv. iii. Chap. 9. with memoirs of Baron de Tott,

Our respect for Montesquieu cannot be diminished by an exposure of the disingenuousness of De Tott's admiration. The name and reputation of Montesquieu must be immortal; but our

Preliminary discourse, p. 8. Esprit des loix, liv. iii. Chap. 8. with memoirs, v. iii. p. 140. See also memoirs, v. i. p. 62. and v. i. p. 207.

The weak and confused understanding of this superficial, but presumptuous writer, will appear on comparing together these quotations from his Memoirs. We see the same person, alternately, the tyrant, and the slave of despotism; incited to violence by the possession of power, and deterred from exerting it by that very power, to which at the same time he himself is preposterously subject. See De Tott's Memoirs, passim.

Montesquieu, probably misled by an author of the name of Perry, indeed says, that "honour is unknown in despotic states, where frequently there is no word even to express it." With respect to Turkey, the position is false. D'Ohsson, in refutation of De Tott, says "Ceux qui ont prétendu que le mot d'honneur n'existe pas dans la langue des Ottomans, n'ont prouvé que *leur parfaite ignorance* et de l'idiome et des mœurs de ces peuples. En effet comment n'ont-ils pas connu les mots d'*'irz*, de *namouz*, de *schann*, de *scheuhkreth*, qui répondent à ceux d'honneur, de dignité, de réputation, de considération, et qui sont dans la bouche de tous les citoyens, lorsqu'il s'agit de la moindre discussion relative à la probité, l'honnêteté, à la justice?" (Tab. Gén. v. iv. p. 374.)

So much for the existence of the *word*, as for the sentiment of honour, as existing among the Turks, I would beg to know of those who do not admit its influence in a despotic country, upon what other principle they can account for the conduct of the Turks, in an instance related by Dr. Wittman. "On the 17th of June, discontents broke out among the janizaries, on account of the British troops under Colonel Stewart, and the corps of Turks commanded by Taher Pasha, being advanced in their front." If this be not honour, I am at a loss to characterize it. But indeed wherever there is a sense of pride or shame, there must be a feeling of honour; and to suppose that an army can exist without it, that men who are urged on to perform great actions, without other recompence than the fame of their exploits, that such men should be insensible to honour, is too gross a contradiction to need refutation. The Prussian officer who discharged his one pistol *at the feet of the king*, and shot himself with the other, rather than survive the infamy of a blow, expressed in the same moment an absolute submission to despotism, and the quickest sense of honour. That sentiment of honour, which is the rule of private conduct, is as pure and sacred in retired life, and under re

deference for his system, however ingenious, however reasonable, should never tempt us to abuse it like the bed of Procrustes, or to forswear the evidence of our senses in obedience to his authority.

One of the evils, and by no means the least of those necessarily accompanying despotism, is that it represses the spring of improvement, which there is in society. Whatever talents may have been called forth, during the struggle which despotism was making to establish its dominion, become stationary at best, or more probably retrograde, when once it has perfected its plan, and stretched itself out to repose on the summit of its power. We behold with wonder in the history of the world the empire of China, which has been arrested many centuries ago in its career of improvement, still resting upon its plan of imagined perfection, occupied only in supporting the sameness of its existence, and surveying with indifference the superior elevation of foreign knowledge. In every country, where despotism is established, every

publican or despotical governments, as in monarchies. It however appears to me, that by honour, of which Montesquieu denies the existence under despotism, he means a principle different from those I have described. He calls it the public virtue of a monarchy, the source of all vigour and all action, inherent in the very nature of limited government; which prompts men to support the privileges of their hereditary nobility, as of equal sanctity with the prerogative of the sovereign, and which urges others to claim distinction of rank and pre-eminence from their own personal merit. This kind of honour could not indeed be suffered in despotic countries, and it would disturb the œconomy of a democracy. Philosophically speaking, however, this sentiment of personal preference, notwithstanding its utility, is but a false honour: the principle of true honour, which leads to virtue from a contempt of vice, is not less pure from being wholly unconnected with it, and is not confined to any climate or any system of government.

art and every useful institution dates from a period antecedent to its introduction. In no one, is it possible to trace the rays of science to one common centre in the zenith; the source of light is sunk beneath the horizon, and only a few scattered rays faintly point out some partial and imperfect method, followed without being understood. In process of time the evil becomes incurable; those who should apply the remedy are themselves contaminated.* "See, says Montesquieu, with what eagerness the Russian government endeavours to throw off its despotism, which is become more oppressive to itself, than to the people."† In despotic countries, if arts continue to be practised, there is no science in the method: the artisan knows not the principles on which he proceeds; he gropes on in routine, but stumbles into the most ridiculous absurdities, when he quits the beaten track. To the inherent quality of despotism itself, and not to any natural incapacity, we are to attribute all that is incoherent and grotesque in Turkish knowledge.

D'Ohsson, having observed the mischievous tendency of some of the ramifications of despotism, attributes to them the evils which

* "Toute la *différence* est que, dans la monarchie, *le prince a des lumieres*, et que les ministres y sont infiniment plus habiles et plus rompus aux affaires que dans l'état despotique." (Esprit des loix. liv. iii. chap. 10.)

† The memoirs of Baron de Tott present us with an interesting picture, in the fruitless attempts of Sultan Mustafa, to ameliorate the system of his government. He was sensible of the existing evils; a wonderful progress, when we consider how far he was removedfrom information by his rank and education. "Had he lived," says De Tott, "he would have sacrificed even his despotism," but in the disease of despotism *the patient cannot minister to himself;* he flounders under his own unwieldiness, but he cannot shake it off; he may scarify his bloated substance, but he deforms instead of healing it.

afflict the Turkish emnire, and does not penetrate as far as the radical cause. " The law," he says, " which subjects the minor princes of the blood to a state of imprisonment, enervates all the elasticity of the heart, and the mind. Its influence extends to the people, and strikes all with sterility; suspending, as well with the subjects, as the prince, all progress in the arts and sciences." But this cause is evidently inadequate to the effects produced: for, in a despotic country, the public conduct, even of a reigning prince, can never operate as an example to his subjects; and still less can the conduct, observed towards him during his minority, influence the public manners. The assertion is further disproved by an appeal to history; for the evils which oppress the country, and which D'Ohsson enumerates as originating in a law made under Soliman the First, did equally exist in all the preceding reigns.* The vices of administration, and the instability of office, are indeed the more immediate causes of public misfortune; but these are but the operative power of despotism. The Roman empire groaned under the same evils, and sunk to the same debility. Enlightened and virtuous despotism may procure a transient felicity; but at the same time when the Roman historians were celebrating the blessings of Trajan's government, " the splendour of the cities, the beautiful face of the country, cultivated and adorned like an immense garden," the latent cause of decay and corruption, " *the uniform govern-*

* Tab. Gén. V. ii. p. 483. " *Hence,* continues D'Ohsson, popular prejudices, or rather the superstitious respect of the nation for its ancient customs; the want of communication with Europeans; the slow progress of the press; the prejudice against foreign languages; the neglect of translating the works of European writers; the aversion to travel beyond their empire; the system of not sending ambassadors to foreign courts:" and he places as the last effect, what indeed is a primary cause— En n la foible sensation que font naturellement sur les esprits, des objets dont l'importance échappe à ceux qui n'en ont que des notions imparfaites."

ment of the Romans" was gradually reducing the minds of men to the same level, extinguishing the fire of genius, and causing even the military spirit to evaporate.*

In Turkey, even the most worthy members of society perform their duty, coldly and officially; all tremble at the public censure, and dare not aspire to innovation or reform, lest they should expose themselves to the shafts of envy and calumny. Under despotism talents must remain insulated, the very nature of the government militates against the idea of aggregation, of a national fund of acquirements. That the Turks labour under no natural inferiority, there needs no argument to prove: a testimony, by no means to be suspected when it condescends to praise, assures us that they possess "the bold and vigorous grasp of native genius." †

* Hadrian and the Antonines, were themselves men of learning and curiosity, and the love of letters was fashionable among their subjects; yet, "if we except the inimitable Lucian, this age of indolence passed away without having produced a single writer of original genius, or who excelled in the arts of elegant composition." The *long festival of peace* contributed less to damp the military ardour, and stop the growth of military talents, than the natural jealousy of despotism, "Germanicus, Suetonius Paulinus, and Agricola, were checked and recalled in the course of their victories. Corbulo was put to death. Military merit, as it is admirably expressed by Tacitus, was in the strictest sense of the word, *imperatoria virtus*." (Gibbon, V. i. p. 5.)

† Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 87.

Climate and the government, in the opinion of De Tott, have formed this people such as he describes them. "The power of moral causes predominates over that of physical;" but, "under the yoke of actual tyrants, physical causes must regain their influence. The climate which the Turks inhabit relaxes the fibres and perverts the effect of their prejudices, so far as even to make them rash, from a cause, which in a cold country, would have made them brave." (Memoirs, Preliminary discourse, p. 4.) It cannot certainly be thought unfair to confront with De Tott's reasoning, the moral

It is certain too, that there is no fundamental maxim in their religious or civil code which obstructs the progress of improvement, or forbids communication with men of other religions.* De Tott found in them an aptitude and an eagerness for mathematical knowledge; and if domestic tranquillity and external peace allowed an extensive and well directed study of the mathematics, they would in a few years, be little inferior to any nation in Europe. No branch of science equally roots out prejudices and inculcates method, or is equally applicable to all departments of utility in the state: on mathematics depends the first great science, that without which all others are useless, the science of national defence: from the mathematics flow all public and private works, and by them, men are prepared for all situations in life. On the mathematics depends all that distinguishes civilization from barbarism. Learning, without them, bewilders itself in the mazes of scholastic subtlety, and philosophy wastes itself in conjectures.

Practicability of improvement.

and physical portrait of a Turkish subject of *Upper Egypt*, taken from common life.—" On peut dire qu'individuellement l'Egyptien est industrieux et adroit et que manquant, à l'égal du sauvage, de toute espèce d'instrument, on doit s'étonner de ce qu'ils font de leurs doigts, auxquels ils sont réduits, et de leurs pieds, dont ils s'aident merveilleusement. Ils ont, comme ouvriers, une grande qualité, celle d'être sans présomption, patients, et de recommencer jusqu'à ce qu'ils aient fait à-peu-près ce que vous desirez d'eux. Je ne sais jusqu'à quel point on pourroit les rendre braves; mais nous ne devons pas voir sans effroi toutes les qualités de soldats qu'ils possedent; éminemment sobres, piétons comme des coureurs, écuyers comme des centaures, nageurs comme des tritons: et cependant c'est à une population de *plusieurs millions d'individus, qui possedent ces qualités*, que quatre mille Français isolés commandoient impérieusement sur deux cents lieues de pays! Tant l'habitude d'obéir est une maniere d'être comme celle de commander, jusqu'à ce que les uns s'endormant dans l'abus du pouvoir, les autres soient réveillés par le bruit de leur chaîne." (Denon, V. i. p. 322.)

* Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. p. 479, 480.

The vain science of words usurps the seat of learning, and sophistry, the name and the honours due to wisdom. Where the mathematics are not encouraged, civilization is precocious and unstable; where they are cultivated, their roots strike deep into the system, and every flower of ornamental literature flourishes under their shade.*

* Mathematical knowledge must indeed have been in a degraded state, if we are implicitly to credit De Tott's account of the conference, which he held by command of the sultan, with the chief of the geometricians. "I modestly asked them, what was the value of the three angles of a triangle, *I was requested to propose the question once more*, and, all the learned having looked on each other, the boldest among them replied with firmness, "It is according to the triangle." "The ignorance of these pretended mathematicians," continues he, "needed no demonstration; but I must do justice to their zeal for the sciences: they all requested to be received into the new school, and nothing was now thought of but its establishment." His scholars were "captains of ships, with white beards, and others of mature age;" and yet these men, though the charge of indocility is so unsparingly cast on the whole nation, were able, *at the end of three months*, to work, in the field, all the problems which result from the four theorems of plane trigonometry; which was as much of this kind of knowledge as was required." The affectionate parting of the baron and his scholars does equal honour to both, and who, on reading it, will not spurn at the insinuation that the Turks are inferior to those men "whom Peter the Great taught to conquer the Swedes." "The vessel," says De Tott, "that was to convey me to Smyrna, had already weighed anchor, and set her sails, when several boats came about us, and I saw myself surrounded by all my pupils, with each a book or an instrument in his hand. Before you leave us, said they, with much emotion, give us, at least, a parting lesson: it will be more deeply impressed on our memories than all the rest." One opened his book to explain the square of the hypothenuse; another with a long white beard elevated his sextant to take an altitude; a third asked me questions concerning the use of the sinical quadrant; and all accompanied me out to sea, for more than two leagues; where we took leave of each other with a tenderness the more lively, as it was unusual, and to me unexpected." (Memoirs, V. i. p. 204.)

CHAPTER II.

RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE OTTOMAN POWER.

Origin of the Turks.—Emigration of the Othmanidæ under Soliman Shah.—Osman, son of Ertogrul, founder of the Ottoman dynasty.—Conquest of the Eastern empire.— Oppression of the Greeks,—Jews and Armenians.—Greatness and extent of the Turkish dominion.—Alarm of Christendom.—Consequences of the invention of gunpowder.—System of Turkish government over the Rayahs or tributary subjects,—and over the Mussulmans.—Partition of lands to the conquerors.—Sources of revenue.—Inefficiency of the military and financial systems.—Considerations on the probable destinies of the Turks;—on the justice or policy of expelling them from Europe;—on the emancipation of the Greeks.—The modern compared with the ancient Greeks;—the Athenians,—and the Spartans.—Causes of the superiority of the ancient Greeks,—and of the decline of the national spirit.—Apprehensions of the Turks from the power of Russia.—History of the first war with the Czar of Muscovy.—Consequences of the conquest of Turkey to Russia,—to the other states of Europe,—and to the Ottoman subjects.—Russian church.—Russian government.—Examination of the arguments for dispossessing the Turks.—Remoteness of amelioration.

Origin of the Turks.

THE high antiquity of the Turks is attested by the Persian and Arabian writers, as well as by those of their own nation. The

Persian traditions relate that Turc, who gave his name to Turkistan, and Iredj, from whom the Persian kings claim descent, were sons of the same father. Abulpharagius, an Arabian author, in his Universal History of Dynasties, enumerates the Turks among the seven original ancestors of mankind; that is, Persians, Chaldæans, Greeks, Egyptians, Turks, Indians, Chinese. The Turkish writers claim their descent from Japhet, by Turc the eldest of his eight sons, the founder of the Tartar race, who fixed his residence at Selinkiah, allured by the salubrity of the air and the purity of the waters. The Greeks confounded this people under the general name of Scythians, and their country under that of Scythia; but the Oriental geographers divide it into four parts, the most fertile and populous of which is that bordering on the Caspian Sea, and watered by the Oxus. This district was the seminary of those hordes who over-ran the western parts of Asia, and the eastern division of the Roman empire. And hence the Othmanidæ derive their origin.*

* Caius Plinius Secundus, in the 7th chapter of the 6th book of his Natural History, makes mention of the Sarmatians, inhabitants of the country about the Tanaïs, among whose families he enumerates "Turcæ, usque ad solitudines saltuosis convallibus asperas, ultra quas Arimphæi, qui ad Riphæos pertinent montes." And Pomponius Mela, towards the end of the 19th chapter of the 1st book, De situ orbis, "Fœcundos pabulo juxta Mæotim, at aliàs steriles nudosque campos tenent Budini: Geloni urbem ligneam habitant: juxta Thyssagetæ Turcæque vastas silvas occupant, aluntur que venando." Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in the book, De administrando imperio, at the beginning of the 37th chapter, says that "towards the end of the 9th century, the Uzi, uniting with the Charazi, expelled the Patzinacitæ from their country beyond the Volga; these, in search of a new settlement, fell upon the Turks, and drove them out of their country near the Tanaïs." But there must have been anterior emigrations; for we find that the Turks, expelled from their country, were invited by the caliphs to enter into their service: and in the years of the Hegira 247 and 249, we read of their

The Roman empire was first invaded by the Turks about the middle of the eleventh century; but at a later period, in the 611th year of the Hegira and 1214th of the Christian æra, the great ancestor of the Ottoman princes, Soliman Shah, encouraged by the example, or alarmed at the progress, of Jenghiz Khan, quitted his settlements in Khorassan, a province of Persia, and his native city Mahan, and leading forth his subjects and associates to new conquests, first approached the confines of Anatolia. His conquests and his life were terminated by the river Euphrates, which he attempted to pass on horseback. His forces were divided among his four sons, and again united under Ertogrul, the eldest, who employed them in aiding the sultan of Iconium to conquer and expel the dispersed Tartars of Jenghiz Khan's expedition. He merited, by preserving and extending the sultan's dominions, the rank of generalissimo of his armies, which he bequeathed to his son Osman, whose ambition assumed no higher title, until, on the abdication of the second Aladin, he seized and retained the sovereign power.*

Emigration of the Othmanidæ under Soliman Shah.

seditions because of their arrears being unpaid, of their combinations in acts of regicide and rebellion, and of their uncontrolled dilapidations of the public treasure. About the end of the 9th century of the Christian æra they established in Egypt the dynasty of the Toulonides; and in the succeeding century, that of the Samanides in Persia; and, wherever employed, they gradually advanced from offices of public importance, to the sovereignty over their former masters. (Abulpharagii Hist. comp. dynast. ed. Oxoniæ 1663, p. 175, 176.)

* I do not mean to insinuate that I have studied the original historians: my humbler knowledge is confined to the perusal of Cantemir's History, D'Ohsson's Tableau Général, and the preface to the last Vienna edition of Meninski's Thesaurus linguarum orientalium.

Osman, son of Ertogrul, founder of the Ottoman dynasty.

Osman, the founder of the empire which still is honoured with his name, was led in early life, by the love of piety and learning, to seek the society and improve by the conversations of sheïks and ulemas, venerable for their austerity or the extent of their knowledge. A sheïk in the neighbourhood of Eski Sheher, named Edebaly, possessed still greater attractions for the young prince in the personal charms of his daughter Malhun-hatynn. Osman had seen her by chance or design, and was smitten with her beauty; but he was deterred from marrying her by apprehension of his father's displeasure, and restrained, by the lady's prudence, from a clandestine engagement. The governor of the city, whom Osman had entreated to use his good offices in order to obtain the approbation of his father, was inflamed with his description, and privately sought, but failed in obtaining, the lady's hand. His treachery and the resentment of Osman involved the citizens in the horrors of civil war. The anxious desire of possessing his beautiful mistress, and the necessity of obtaining his father's consent, suggested to the prince an artifice, justified by the manners of the age, and the credulity of Ertogrul's character. He dreamed, or invented a dream: a meteor, beaming with a mild light like that of the moon, arose from the side of the sheïk, and rested on the navel of Osman, whence a tree, whose top reached to the skies, sprang out, and extended its branches, bending under rich foliage and delicious fruit, to the farthest extremities of the universe: one bough, distinguished from the others by a more lively verdure, and by its form resembling a sabre, stretched out to the west towards Constantinople: all the riches and beauties of nature were spread out under the canopy of this wonderful tree,

and invited the various tribes of mortals to enjoy prosperity and abundance without any obligation to labour. The natural interpretation of such a prodigy pointed out the sheïk, who was himself skilled in the art of developing mysteries, as the future father-in-law of a monarch, already united to him in community of faith*, whose race, as was typified by the mysterious tree *Tuba*, one of the wonders of Paradise, should multiply their possessions, and extend their sway, beyond the capital of the Eastern empire. Such reasoning, seconded by the blooming beauties of sweet fifteen, was irresistible: Osman was submissive to the divine decree, and it even carried such full conviction to the devout Ertogrul, that he was no less impatient than his son to hasten the accomplishment of the prediction.

Conquest of the Eastern empire.

The relaxed state of government and military discipline among the Romans, encouraged the inroads of the Turks, which continued, with unremitting success, till Mahomet the Second in the year fourteen hundred and fifty three, placed himself on the throne of the Cæsars. The power of the Ottoman sultans gradually extended from the banks of the Dnieper to the cataracts of the Nile, and from the Adriatic Sea to the Persian Gulph, over the portion of the globe the most favoured by nature, the parent, or the nurse, of all the sciences, and all the arts of civilized life†. But, long

* The schism, which separated the Turks and Persians, was introduced, according to Cantemir, (Hist. p. 135.) in the year 1501 of the Christian æra, by Sheitan Culy, the slave of Satan, as he is called by the Turkish historians, though more properly named by the Persian writers Shah Culy, the king's slave.

† The extent of the Turkish empire may be judged of from the Sultan's titles, pre-

before the final conquest of the Roman empire, the co-operation of various causes had suspended or corrupted the arts, and had perverted the very sources of science. The study of natural causes had given place to theological subtleties; the science of government had sunk under tyranny; and the arts administered only to effeminacy. The few remains of ancient learning were tinctured and connected with dogmas and superstitions, which the Turks held in contempt or abhorrence, as being contradictory to the precepts of their own religion. They therefore, like the unlettered warriors who overspread the western countries of Europe, established, in their new conquests, the feudal system of government,

fixed to the ratification of the treaty of alliance of the 31st January, 1790, made between the King of Prussia and the Ottoman Porte.

"Selim, fils de Mustafa Chan.

"Nous, par la grace particulière de Dieu et par les mérites extraordinaires du prophète, souverain et maitre du plus excellent pays, et des plus belles provinces, et des villes les plus heureuses, particulièrement de celles de Mecka, de Medine, de Jerusalem, protégées de Dieu, des quelles je suis le serviteur et le maitre, et des plus renommées Constantinople, Adrianople et Brussa, de Damas, du Caire, de toute l'Arabie, de l'Afrique, de Barka, de Kairiwan, Alep, de l'Irake, de la Perse, de Lychsa, de Dilem, de Rypka, de Mussul, de Diarbeckir, de Sulcadrie, du pays d'Erserum, Siwas et Adana, Caramane, Wan, Magrip, de l'Abyssinie, de Tunis, Tripoli, de la Syrie, de Cypre et Rhode, de Candie, de la Morée, de la Mer Blanche et de la Mer Noire, d'Alger avec ses territoires, de tous les pays d'Anadolie et de Romélie, et particulièrement de Bagdad et du Kurdistan, de la Tatarie, de la Circassie, et du Cabartha, de la Georgie, de Kaptschak et tous les Tatares qui sont dans cette contrée, du Daghinak, d'Ojmakan, de la Bosnie, et de la forteresse de Belgrade, et de toutes les forteresses qui se trouvent dans cette province, de l'Albanie, de la Wallachie, et de la Moldavie, avec tous leurs districts et de plusieurs autres lieux, qui ne sont pas mentionnés."

It is indeed true that, with respect to several countries and places in this very immethodical catalogue, his Highness is only sovereign *in partibus;* but, after every deduction, the remainder forms an empire not elsewhere to be equalled.

with which they appear to have been familiarized, without designing to modify it by institutions previously existing among the ancient inhabitants. Depriving their conquered subjects of their political existence, they allowed them a limited and imperfect exercise of their civil rights on the payment of an annual tribute, and tolerated their peculiar modes of worship, in a restrained and private manner. The sense of present degradation overwhelming the recollection of past independence, humbled the minds of the Greeks to the level of their abject situation; and the vices, peculiar to a state of domestic slavery, were superadded to those, which luxury and superstition had before generated.* Oppression of the Greeks.

About the end of the fifteenth century, the Jews, expelled from Spain on the conquest of Grenada, found an asylum in Turkey; and at the commencement of the succeeding century, Armenia was made a province of the empire by Selim the First; and its unconverted inhabitants were reduced to a state of tributary subjection.† Jews and Armenians.

If the Turks had had no external enemy, their system of political institutions, intrinsically vicious and imperfect as it is, might have been upheld for an indeterminate period by the arts which first established it. But the progress of surrounding nations in tactics and military science has not only left them behind in the

* The national appellation of the modern Greek is Romaios or Romeos, which signifies a Roman. How is the pure gold changed! this most illustrious of all distinctions is now become a bye-word and reproach among nations.

† Cantemir, p. 155.

career of improvement, but, by weakening their confidence in their ancient mode of attack and defence, has caused them to degenerate from their ancestors.* The checks they have received from foreign powers have encouraged their pashas to rebellion, and diverted the Porte from its usual methods of counteracting them. The band of union between the sovereign and the component members of the empire is broken or relaxed: the army is dispirited: the finances unequal to the exigencies of the state: and the officers of government, in such an uncertain state of affairs, are actuated only by a regard to their own emolument and safety.

* I feel the importance of the question, *Whether the Turks have degenerated?* And though I do not wholly deny it; yet I must declare that, as far as my unbiassed, though perhaps imperfect, observation guides me, a diffidence in the talents of their generals is all that distinguishes the modern, from the ancient, Turkish armies. We have seen them, in the course of a single campaign, heroes at Acre, and most contemptible cowards at Aboukir; because, as a prisoner once replied to Marshal Saxe, "Though none of our soldiers are less brave than me, there is wanting one among them like you." It is a just and true remark of the Abbé Mably, *that a nation suffers no real or essential loss, but when it loses the character to which it owed its success.* Now, when we consider that this character among the Turks, as individuals, is unchanged, and that it is not impossible that the talents of one man may yet reanimate the national spirit, we should carefully guard, especially in such critical times as the present, against an indulgence of that contempt, which some writers endeavour to inspire us with. My opinion is further confirmed by the following observation of a military traveller. "La religion et l'habitude sont deux barrières qui empêchent autant les Turcs d'avancer que de reculer. Je crois qu'on les accuse à tort d'avoir dégénéré. Les Turcs, qui ont fait deux fois le siège de Vienne, ressembloient, à peu de choses près, aux Turcs qui ont été vainqueurs à Karansebès, et vaincus à Martinesti. Les Turcs, qui ont rendu Ismaël, étoient aussi braves et aussi ignorans que ceux qui ont pris Rhodes. Ils sont à peu près au même point; ce sont les autres peuples qui ont fait des progrès." (Voyage à Constantinople, p. 155.)

About two centuries ago the historian Knolles contemplated the mighty power of the Ottoman sovereigns, when they united under their sceptre the empires of the Saracens and Greeks, and had subjected part of Hungary and Persia. "If you consider," says he, "its beginning, progress, and uninterrupted success, there is nothing in the world more admirable and strange; if the greatness and lustre thereof, nothing more magnificent and glorious; if the power and strength thereof, nothing more dreadful or dangerous; which, wondering at nothing but the beauty of itself, and drunk with the pleasant wine of perpetual felicity, holdeth all the rest of the world in scorn."* Busbequius, ambassador from the emperor Ferdinand the First, had before been aware of the danger which threatened Germany and all Christendom, and, in the true spirit of patriotism, had endeavoured to rouse his countrymen to a sense of their situation: "We are not called upon to resist enemies of the same stamp with ourselves: the blind may contend with the blind, and their common errors may pass unobserved: but we have now to oppose the Turks, a vigilant, industrious, sober, and disciplined, enemy, inured to military labour, skilful in tactics, and obedient to the rigours of service. Led on by these virtues, and forcing their way through desolated empires, they have subdued every thing from the frontiers of Persia, and, trampling over the mangled bodies of hostile sovereigns and their subjects, have reached the frontiers of Austria, and threaten Vienna itself."† Sandys, who travelled through Turkey and Egypt during the reign

Greatness and extent of the Turkish dominion.

Alarm of Christendom.

* Knolles's preface to the History of the Turks.

† Busbequii—De re militare contra Turcam instituenda consilium.

of Ahmed the First, expresses less apprehension; "for surely," says he, "it is to be hoped that their greatness is not only at the height, but near an extreme precipitation: the body being grown too monstrous for the head; the sultans unwarlike; the soldiers corrupted with ease, wine, and women; their valour now meeting opposition, and empire, so got, when it ceaseth to increase, doth begin to diminish."* It would be rash, at this distance of time, to controvert the opinion of so respectable a traveller, an eye-witness too of the facts from which he has drawn his conclusions; and yet the Turkish power, at the commencement of the seventeenth century, had not even reached its highest pitch of elevation: Ahmed, himself a warrior, was succeeded by other warlike sultans; and the Ottoman armies continued to bear down the opposition of European valour, till the gallant Sobieski forced them to abandon their ill-omened siege of Vienna, and determined the destinies of the world.† The latent causes of the failure of their extensive plans of conquest are however to be sought for in the history of remote nations and preceding ages: these were silently preparing in the sequestered cells and studious labours of Christian monks, even during the full blaze of their meridian splendour, and amidst their triumphs over the worship of Christ.‡

* Sandys's Travels, p. 51. ed. 1627.

† Cantemir's Ottoman History, p. 310.

‡ Bartholomew Schwartz, a German monk, is commonly said to have invented gunpowder in the year 1320, though it is certainly known, that this composition is described in a treatise written by Roger Bacon about the year 1280.

Mahomet the Second, during the siege which terminated in the conquest of Constantinople, employed modern artillery, the secret of which had been revealed to him by a Dane, or Hungarian, of the name of Urban*. But, whatever advantages the Turks may have momentarily derived from it, I consider the invention of gunpowder as the principal obstacle to the progress of the Turkish power, and the chief cause of its decline.

Consequences of the invention of gunpowder.

From the heroic ages to the days of chivalry, bodily strength, and skill in the use of arms, had constituted the perfect soldier. But, though art and tactics gave a disciplined army a prodigious advantage over multitudes and untaught courage, and though experience, even then, had shewn that the event of a battle depended more on the powers of the mind than on corporeal exertions; yet war was less a science: it neither could be studied in privacy and retirement, nor could a nation keep up the martial spirit in a long enjoyment of repose, or retain a familiarity with military exercises sufficient for an emergency. The interval of peace between the first and second Punic wars had made the Romans inferior to the Carthaginians, and the luxuries of Italy in a short time enervated the victorious armies of Hannibal. But, on the discovery of gunpowder and the introduction of fire-arms, the boiling courage, whether the effect of physical or moral causes, whether from strong nerves and high spirits, or patriotism or religious fanaticism, which before had given to one soldier a superiority over another; the excess of bodily strength, which alone, in some in-

* Gibbon, V. xii. p. 197.

stances, had constituted the hero; lost their advantages: and a steady and obedient courage on the part of the men, coolness and deliberation on the part of the officers, became the virtues of the soldier. The individual efforts and desire of distinction, which formerly were encouraged, and had produced such great and surprising effects, were now to be checked and restrained; and it became erroneous or criminal to overstep the line traced out for the general conduct. The impetuosity of the Turkish soldiers could ill brook such restraints: and the feeling of individual worth concurred with the memory of their illustrious ancestors to endear to them their ancient habits and modes of warfare. They possessed the adventurous, though not the gallant, spirit of chivalry, and, like the knights-errant, regretted that personal prowess was made subservient to an invention, which gave to artifice and cowardice, an advantage over skill and valour*. Busbequius had noticed the

* Ariosto has transmitted to us their sentiments, in his beautiful poem of Orlando Furioso. He represents his hero as having rescued the dominions of Olimpia, a princess of Friza, from the usurpation of Cymosco, who had baffled the efforts of former adventurers by the superiority of his newly invented weapons. Orlando however defeated him, and bore away his musket as a trophy: not to use it, but to bury it in the sea, and to remove it from human research.

L'intenzion, non già, perchè lo tolle,
Fu per voglia d'usarlo in sua difesa,
Che sempre atto stimò d'animo molle
Gir con vantaggio in qual si voglia impresa;
Ma per gittarlo in parte, onde non volle
Che mai potesse al uom più fare offesa.
E la polve, e le palle, e tutto il resto
Seco portò, che apparteneva à questo. (Canto nono.)

aversion of the Turks from the use of fire-arms, and their preference of ancient weapons; but he could not at that time deduce the consequences which have flowed from their prejudices. A Dalmatian horseman (one of those called by the Turks, Delhi, from their intemperate courage or rashness) came express to Constantinople, and reported to the Divan the ill success of an incursion into Croatia, where two thousand five hundred Turks had been surprised by a party of five hundred musqueteers, and completely routed with great slaughter. The Ottoman pride was more affected with the dishonour to Soliman's arms than with the loss of troops, who, the Divan supposed, had acted in a manner unworthy of the Turkish name. "Have I failed in making myself understood?" said the Delhi, unmoved at the reproach, "Do you not hear that we were overpowered by musquetry? We were routed by the force of fire, and not by the bravery of the enemy. The event of the battle would indeed have been otherwise, if it had been really a contest of courage: but they took fire to their aid, and we acknowledge ourselves to have been conquered by its violence. Fire is one of the elements, and indeed the most powerful; and what is the strength of man, that it should resist the shock of the ele-

His execrations against the invention are characteristic of the spirit of chivalry, and were repeated by Don Quixote in terms equally bitter.

O maladetto, o abbominoso ordigno;
Che fabbricato nel tartareo fondo
Fosti per man di Belzebù maligno,
Che ruinar per te disegnò il mondo.
All inferno, onde uscisti, ti rassegno. (Stanza 91.)

ments?" "Hence," says Busbequius, "I learned, that the small arms used by our cavalry are peculiarly formidable to the Turks."*

While discipline and attention to the military exercises could insure success in war, the Turks were the first of military nations. When the whole art of war was changed, and success in it was reduced to calculation, the rude and illiterate Turkish warriors experienced the fatal consequences of ignorance, without suspecting the cause. Accustomed to employ no other means than force, they sunk under despondency, when force could no longer avail; and, having now almost lost confidence in the possibility of recovery, they present to their own astonishment, and to the mockery of Europe, "the mighty shadow of unreal power."

System of Turkish government over the Rayahs or tributary subjects,

Their system of government was still less scientific than that of their warfare. To constitute a community, interested in the pre-

* "Idem usu venire audio Persis. Ex quo fuit non nemo, qui suaderet Rustano, ad bellum adversus Persas cum suo rege proficiscenti, ut turmam ducentorum equitum ex suis domesticis institutam *sclopetis* armaret, magno terrori futuram hostibus, et stragem magnam facturam. Nec consilium aspernatus Rustanus eam turmam instituit, sclopetis instruit, curat exercendam. Sed nondum dimidiam partem itineris confecerant, cum aliud ad sclopeti usum necessarium deficere cœpit. Amittebatur quotidie aliquid aut frangebatur, raris qui possent reficere. Sic bona sclopetorum pars jam inutilis reddita erat: et cum ea de causa pœnitebat ejus teli, tum quod munditiei, cui valde student Turcæ, adversabatur, conspiciebantur manibus fuligine infectis, vestitu maculoso, informibus thecis et pyxidibus undique pendulis, ut risui essent commilitonibus, et ab eis per ludibrium medicamentarii vocitarentur, ita cum nec sibi nec aliis cum hoc habitu placerent, Rustanum circumsistunt: mancos et inutiles sclopetos proferunt. Quemnam ex his fructum speret, ubi ad hostes ventum sit: *rogant ut se illis deoneret, arma reddat usitata.* Re diligenter considerata, non putavit causam esse Rustanus ut refragaretur. Sic cum bona ejus venia *sagittas et arcus resumpserunt.*" (Busbeq. Epist. iii. p. 132.)

servation of the empire, from the various and discordant classes of people comprehended in its vast extent, was a task which called for the greatest genius, the most profound study of morality, and the most extensive observation of human passions. To harmonize them was not, however, the wish of the Ottoman legislators. "The bended head," according to a maxim of Turkish justice, "is not to be struck off."* But, though submission to their power warded off the stroke of death, nothing short of embracing the religion of their prophet could exonerate the vanquished from fines and personal subjection. The conquered people, if they persisted in obstinacy, together with their possessions, their industry, and their posterity, became virtually the property of their masters. "Their substance," says the law, "is as our substance; their eye as our eye; their life as our life."† In such a state of subjection their claim to justice and security was precarious, and their lives and fortunes were made subservient to the necessities of the state, and the interests of the superior and privileged class,‡ who strove by every means, however injurious and insulting to their feelings, to suppress, instead of exciting their energies; to debilitate their

* Cantemir, p. 72.

† Cantemir, p. 276.

‡ It was asked of the mufti, "If eleven Mussulmans, without just cause, kill an infidel, who is a subject of the emperor, and pays tribute, what is to be done?" The mufti subscribed with his own hand, "Though the Mussulmans should be a thousand and one, let them all die." (Cant. p. 183.) But it may truly be said, "quid leges, sine moribus?" for the protection of the law avails nothing to the oppressed infidel.

minds to the level of slavery; and to insure their submission to the forms of government established by themselves. The state haughtily rejected their active services; as, at best, they must be languid in its defence, or more probably hostile to its cause.*

and over Mussulmans.

The Turks, on the contrary, were attached to the constitution by every motive which fanaticism or self-interest could urge: favourites of heaven, and lords of the earth; the infidel tributary subjects were sacrificed without scruple to the interest, the convenience, or the caprice, of the faithful. The precepts of the Koran, and the decrees of the sultan, secured to the Turkish subjects equal right to all posts of trust or dignity, equal justice, and the undisturbed enjoyment of the fruits of rapine or industry. The public force was lodged in the hands of the Mussulman people; and frequent examples occur in history of their having directed it against the heads of the state or the church, when they apprehended injustice, or felt oppression. Party rage has led them to acts of violence, and even rebellion, against their legal sovereign; but to change or new-model the system of government could never have entered into the minds of men, who acknowledge no superiority but in official rank, to which all may hope to attain, and who lord it over the subjected rayahs, every one in his own sphere, with undisputed, and almost uncontrolled, authority.

* In judging of the exercise of government in Turkey, it is necessary to bear in mind this great political distinction of Turks and Rayahs. It is evident that the government should be considered, as it is exercised over the natural subjects or Turks, and not over the aliens or Rayahs. It would be unjust to characterize the Spartan government, only from its treatment of the Helotes.

The empire, like one great manor, was parcelled out according to feudal usages; and all the natural and improveable advantages of soil, climate, and productions, were held out as incitements to their warriors, from their captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds, to the private volunteers, as a foretaste of the sweets of Paradise to those, who had not obtained martyrdom in the propagation of their faith, and the extension of their empire. These military tenures, on the death of the incumbents, lapsed to the crown: and, as under no circumstances, except in the possessions of the church, * the grants were hereditary, there could be no thought of a distant futurity, no care for the posterity of a stranger; all hopes of preserving or desire of improving estates, were confined to the term of a single life; and all ate and drank, to exhaustion and impoverishment, for on the morrow they were to die.† Partition of lands to the conquerors.

* The pious foundations called *Wakf*, or rather *Vacuf*, are property consecrated to the service of public worship, or charitable institutions. It will be sufficient to observe in this place, for the better understanding of the passage in the text, that even grants of this nature are not properly hereditary in families. The original benefactor has the privilege of appointing to the administration of his bequest an officer under the title of *mutevelly*, and a superior officer, or overseer, under the title of *nazir*; these are sometimes the children, or natural heirs of the testator, and they enjoy, by the tacit consent of the law, such part of the rents as is not specifically appropriated. But when this surplus is considerable, it does not escape the vigilance of government.

† "The Turks," says Olivier, "enjoy every where with the indifference of tenants." Busbequius too observed on passing through Buda, the capital of Hungary, that the Turks suffered the palaces which they inhabited, to fall into decay, without troubling themselves about even necessary repairs.

"Ils bâtissent le moins qu'ils peuvent; ils ne réparent jamais rien: un mur menace ruine, ils l'étaient; il s'écoule, ce sont quelques chambres de moins dans la maison; ils

Sources of revenue.

The spoils of war, the contributions from the natural riches of the country, and from the industry of the rayahs, which, however, was much repressed by the uncertain enjoyment of their acquisitions, furnished government with the means of supporting all its establishments, whether of utility, luxury, or splendour; but the financial operations were as rudely conducted, as, at that period, they were in Western Europe. The direct extortions of government were practised only upon the great and powerful. The means of raising revenue from the provinces were left almost to the discretion of the governors; and they, and their inferior agents, restrained in their tyranny over the Turks, exerted their unlimited authority over the rayahs, in employing the endless inventions of oppression to force the proprietors of money, the husbandman, the artisan, and the merchant, to disclose and surrender their concealed property.

Inefficiency of the military and financial systems.

The force of the Turkish empire is a militia composed of the total mass of the Mussulman subjects; but uninformed, undisciplined, and intractable; if compared to an European army, they are merely a disorderly crowd. The finances, in the calculation of which violence and extortion always formed a principal part, are now, from the loss of wealthy provinces, and the defection and rebellion of pashas, insufficient for the ordinary expenditure of the government; and they seem incapable of being improved, so as to be sufficient for the support of a regular standing army, by any constitu-

s'arrangent à côté des décombres : l'édifice tombe enfin, ils en abandonnent le sol, ou, s'ils sont obligés d'en déblayer l'emplacement, ils n'emportent les plâtras que le moins loin qu'ils peuvent." (Denon. v. i, p. 193.)

tional means, or by any means which the people, instigated by turbulent and ambitious leaders, would not efficaciously oppose: so that notwithstanding the efforts of the Porte towards ameliorating their military system and introducing European improvements, there is little ground for expecting that they will ever again bring their armies into the field, on this side of the Bosphorus, against a foreign enemy, unless impelled by despair, or aided by a powerful ally. To oppose a rebel in a distant province, a neighbouring pasha must be stimulated by the allurement of conquest and plunder, or incited by rewards and the promise of new dignities.* The governor of an insignificant fortress, at no very great distance from the capital, not long ago insulted the government, almost at the gates of the seraglio, and baffled the utmost efforts of the Porte: and the late Capudan Pasha Hussein was compelled to sacrifice his own honour, together with the dignity of the sultan, to the humiliation of treating with a revolted subject: and, at this time, there is no province in Rumelia, where troops of licentious banditti do not annually intercept the caravans, interrupt communication, plunder the husbandman of the fruits of his labour, and reduce the country to a solitude.†

* Mr. Eton, however, gives too degrading an idea of the weakness of the Porte, when he asserts, (p. 290.) "that in the country about *Smyrna*, there are great agas, who are independent lords, and maintain armies, and *often lay that city under contribution.*

† I have travelled through several provinces of European Turkey, and cannot convey an idea of the state of desolation in which that beautiful country is left. For the space of seventy miles, between Kirk Kilisé and Carnabat, there is not an inhabitant,

Considerations on the probable destinies of the Turks;

At a period like the present, when the fate of Turkey is suspended in the balance, when its inferiority to the nations of Europe is become so evident, and surrounded, as it is, by powerful and ambitious neighbours, it seems to require no supernatural foresight to announce an approaching revolution. But is Turkey no longer to exist as a nation, or is the most numerous part of the people to resign the sovereignty into the hands of their emancipated subjects, and in their turn to submit their necks to the yoke? Are we to admit, with Mr. Eton, that the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, and the re-establishment of the Greek empire, are what sound policy and even justice require; for, "*according to the laws of nations*, the Turks have not, by length of possession, acquired a right to the dominion of the countries they conquered."* This, I apprehend, is carrying up the question too high; for, on such principles, every people must first examine the ground on which they themselves stand, and it would then be difficult to determine what nation has a right to attack and dispossess the Turks. Mr. Eton is positive, "that the Greeks will emancipate themselves from the yoke of Turkey."† "They are

On the justice or policy of expelling them from Europe;

On the emancipation of the Greeks.

though the country is an earthly paradise. The extensive and pleasant village of Faki, with its houses deserted, its gardens over-run with weeds and grass, its lands waste and uncultivated, and now the resort of robbers, affects the traveller with the most painful sensations.

* Survey of the Turkish empire, Preface, p. 9. Denon, I think, reasons better "Si la terre que nous foulions leur étoit mal acquise, ce n'étoit pas à nous à le trouver mauvais; et au moins plusieurs siécles de possession établissoient leurs droits." (Voyage en Egypte, V. 1. p. 284.)

† Survey of the Turkish empire. Preface, p. 10.

then," says Volney, "to recall the arts and sciences into their native land, to open a new career to legislation, to commerce, to industry; and to efface the glory of the ancient East, by the brighter glory of its regeneration."*

But can men, who, "in the revolution of ten centuries, made not a single discovery to exalt the dignity, or promote the happiness of mankind; who held in their lifeless hands, the riches of their fathers, without inheriting the spirit which had created and improved that sacred patrimony,"† and have since lain, "vanquished and weltering," through the long space of three hundred and fifty years, lost even to the love of liberty or the faculty of employing it; can such men suddenly recover from the stupor of so tremendous a fall, and emulate the virtues of their remote and illustrious ancestors? If indeed they be the descendants of the ancient Greeks; for how fallen, how changed from those, who, alone in the whole history of man, have left one bright page, have illustrated one short period, and have held up to the insatiable admiration of posterity the only models of human nature which approach to perfection. Who are the modern Greeks? and whence did Constantine collect the mixed population of his capital; the herd of dogmatists, and hypocrites, whom ambition had converted to the new religion of the court? Certainly not from the families which have immortalized Attica and Laconia. They never sprang from those Athenians, whose patriotic ardour could not wait the tardy

The modern compared with the ancient Greeks.

The Athenians.

* Volney, Considérations sur la guerre actuelle des Turcs.

† Gibbon, V. X. p. 161.

tardy approach of the Persian army, but impelled them over the plains of Marathon, to an unpremeditated charge, whereby they forced the superior numbers of an invading enemy to seek refuge in the sea. The lofty spirit of Athenian independence could not brook the mild yoke of Persian despotism: they refused to dishonour the soil of Attica by offering the smallest particle of it as a tribute to a foreign sovereign; though their enlightened patriotism could upon a great emergency, rise superior even to the natural attachment, which so powerfully binds men to their native soil: they abandoned their city, with the temples of their deities, and the tombs of their ancestors, to the fury of the barbarians, and embarked on board their navy, what really constituted the Athenian common-wealth, the whole of the Athenian citizens.

From Athens and the borders of the Ilissus, the seat of literature and science, even when arms were wrested from the hands of its citizens, the invitation of Constantine attracted no philosopher. The capital, with all its allurements of splendor and luxury, could not come in competition with the more enchanting impressions of groves and gardens consecrated to philosophy and science: and they continued to study the doctrines of the Porch, the Lyceum, and the Academy, on the same ground where they were first promulgated, until Theodosius finally expelled them. Still less can the modern Greeks be supposed the descendants of the citizens of Sparta, of those ferocious warriors to whom a state of actual warfare was repose, when compared with the intervals of hostility, spent in gymnastic exercises and the most fatiguing duties of the military life. Formed by the rigid observance of the laws of Ly-

and the Spartans.

cirgus, and animated with the warmest enthusiasm of real patriotism, Leonidas and his small illustrious band, with deliberate resolution, devoted their lives at Thermopyla for the freedom of Greece. But the Spartans were the terror of all the neighbouring states, except those who were their dependent allies. At length the devouring fire of their valour consumed itself: and long before the seat of government was removed from Rome to Constantinople, the Spartan families, if not wholly extinct, could no longer be distinguished among the mass of submissive subjects of the Roman empire.

Causes of the superiority of the ancient Greeks.

The climate of Greece has been supposed to be peculiarly favourable to the birth and expansion of talents; but it seems unreasonable to ascribe to climate or physical constitution, effects which cannot be the result of any organization. The Athenians indeed were peculiarly characterized by a quick and accurate perception of beauty or defect, by a delicate and distinguishing taste. But taste is less the gift of nature, than the effect of study. Demosthenes addressed his eloquent discourses to the general assembly, composed of the Athenian populace; the poets enriched the Athenian stage with the sublimest and most pathetic tragedies; the labours of the statuary and architect, were submitted to the judgment of the people; and they presided over the public exhibitions of strength, skill, and agility. They were early formed in the gymnasia and public schools, to the contemplation of beauty and grace; each citizen was ambitious to excel in the exercises at the public games, in oratory at the general assemblies, in music and dancing on their public festivals. Drawing and the arts of

design formed essential parts of the public education; and sculpture furnished the objects of their public and private devotion, the ornaments of their houses, and the history of their families. What was so generally useful, was necessarily attended to: and judgment, if not skill, in the liberal arts was indispensable to the comforts, the pleasures, and the respectability, of every citizen.

and of the decline of the national spirit.

National character is entirely modified by circumstances. The loss of liberty and political independence had, even in the time of the early Roman emperors, sullied this beautiful portrait: and the Greek had already dwindled into the *Græculus esuriens*, the hungry parasite, fawning, intriguing, subtle, argumentative, and loquacious. For the display of such talents, the imperial court was the proper theatre: the degenerate Greeks crowded to the new capital in Thrace, in numbers sufficient to fix the language, and stamp the national character: under weak and superstitious monarchs, they exercised their licentiousness in morals, and intolerance in religion; and from degradation to degradation, they fell at length under subjection to the turban, which they had deliberately preferred to an union with the Western Christians.*

* Mr. Eton, in his chapter on the political state of Greece, gives the history of some skirmishes between the pasha of Yanina, and the Greek inhabitants of the mountains of Sulli. The particulars were communicated to him by a Greek interpreter, of the name of Amaxaris, who served on board the Tigre under Sir Sidney Smith, during the Syrian and Egyptian campaigns. These and the piracies of a Greek of the name of Lambro, are "the struggles which," according to Mr. Eton, (p. 334.) "shew that Greece is about to awake to the assertion of her native rights." But the details present a disgusting picture of the warfare of the modern Greeks, which is in fact, in a

Spon, who published his travels in 1679, has observed that " of all the princes of Christendom, there was none whom the Turks

Apprehensions of the Turks from the power of Russia.

political point of view, only the devastation of banditti, and wholly undeserving the notice of history. I blush, while I quote Mr. Eton's eulogium of the *gallant Lambro*, who pillaged and ransacked the *Greek* islands of the Archipelago, and molested the trading ships of *all nations*, even after the peace of Yassi was signed, when he was disavowed by Russia, and declared a pirate. The account of his defeat by two French frigates is given by Olivier : Mr. Eton says, " the Greeks proved on this occasion their love of liberty, their passion for glory, and a *perseverance* in toils, obedience to discipline, and a contempt of danger and death, worthy of the brightest pages of their history : they fought with, and conquered, very superior numbers, and when at last they were attacked with an inequality of force, as great as Leonidas had to encounter," (Leonidas ! great, injured name) " they fought till their whole fleet was sunk, and a few only saved themselves in boats." (p. 368.)

That I may not be accused of calumniating the modern Greeks, it will, perhaps, not be improper to review the opinions of former writers on the subject. Sandys says, (p. 77.) " but now their knowledge is converted, as I may say, into affected ignorance (for they have no schools of learning among them) their liberty into contented slavery, having lost their minds with their empire. For so base are they, as thought it is, they had rather remain as they be, than endure a temporary trouble by prevailing succours ; and would with the Israelites repine at their deliverers."

" I thought it," says De Tott, (p. 91.) " a well-grounded observation which Manoly Serdar, himself a Greek, made, " that his nation in nothing resembled the ancient empire of the Greeks, except in the pride and fanaticism which caused its ruin."

" C'est une belle idée sur le papier," says a very intelligent observer, " que de voir les Russes à Constantinople y rétablir l'empire Grec. Mais ceux qui forment de si beaux plans ignorent que les Grecs modernes sont comme ces vins, dont il ne reste que la lie; qu'ils n'ont conservé des Grecs anciens que les vices, sur lesquels ils ont encheri ; qu'ils sont deux fois plus fanatiques que les Turcs, s'il est possible, et qu'ils seroient, par cette raison, mille fois plus cruels, s'ils devenoient, je ne dis pas maîtres, mais plus libres." (Voyage à Constantinople, p. 162.)

Mr. Eton may be considered as the champion of the Greeks. He asserts, that, " a Grecian state will quickly attain a proud pre-eminence among nations." (p. 440.) " Strengthened by such an alliance, we should maintain that ascendancy in the Me-

so much feared, as the Czar of Muscovy."† But, were it not for the testimony of a contemporary writer, it would have been

diterranean, of which the union of France and Spain threatens to deprive us." "Which if Great Britain does not embrace, her influence and weight in the Mediterranean, *and perhaps in the scale of Europe,* must speedily sink." (pp. 437, 441.) Mr. Eton proceeds to analyze the Greeks, and arranges them in distant classes. 1. The Greeks of the Fanal, from whom are appointed the dragomans of the Porte, and the Vaywodas of Wallachia and Moldavia. "They are continually intriguing to get those in office removed, and obtain their places; even children cabal against their fathers, and brothers against brothers. They are all people of very good education, and are polite, but haughty, vain, and ambitious to a most ridiculous degree. As to their noble extraction it is a matter of great uncertainty. *They have in general all the vices of the Turks of the Seraglio;* treachery, ingratitude, cruelty, and intrigue which stops at no means. *When they become Vaywodas, they are in nothing different from Turkish pachas in tyranny.* In such a situation the mind must lose its vigour, the heart its generosity. They do not weep over the ruins which they cannot restore, nor sigh to rear others of equal magnificence." (p. 344.) "But," adds Mr. Eton, "they are the only part of their nation, who have totally relinquished the ancient Grecian spirit." In the second class are the merchants and lower orders of Constantinopolitan Greeks, who indeed have no very marked character; "they are much the same as the trading Christians in all parts of the empire, that is to say, *as crafty and fraudulent as the Jews.*" (p. 342.) Of course, neither of these classes are meant by Mr. Eton, when he says, (p. 340.) "the Greeks retain so much energy of character, and are so little abased, for like noble coursers they champ the bit, and spurn indignantly the yoke; when once freed from these, they will enter the course of glory." We must not therefore be discouraged; but follow Mr. Eton in his characteristic descriptions, and we shall find, that, in the third class, "The Greeks of Macedonia &c., are robust, courageous, *and somewhat ferocious.*" (p. 345.) "Those of Athens and Attica are still remarkably witty and sharp. All the islanders are lively and gay, fond of singing and dancing to an excess, affable, hospitable, and goodnatured; in short *they are the best.*"

I must here be permitted to observe, that the travellers *who have visited* Athens, and the Greek islands, do not give unqualified praise to their inconsiderable population. Tournefort, Spon, and Wheler, made the complete tour of these islands, and faithfully describe the inhabitants, as a low, plodding, persecuted, and miserable race:—But to return to Mr. Eton.

difficult to imagine, that the want of success in one short campaign could have struck the Turkish troops with such a panic, or have suggested to them apprehensions, which, at that time, must to all others have appeared groundless.

History of the first war with the Czar of Muscovy.

The revolt of the Cossaks from the dominion of the Porte, was the cause of the first war between the Russians and Turks: and a review of the few events of that war will serve, in some degree, to explain the motives of that well-founded apprehension of the growing power of Russia, which was then first suggested.* The following passage from Voltaire describes the state of the Cossaks, at the period now alluded to.

"The Cossaks inhabit the Ukraine, a country situate between Little Tartary, Poland, and Russia. It extends from north to south, about a hundred leagues, and as many from east to west. The Borysthenes, or Dnieper, which runs through it from north-

"*The Greeks of the Morea are much given to piracy.*" "Those of Albania and Epirus, and the mountaineers in general are a very warlike, brave people, *but very savage, and make little scruple of killing and robbing travellers.*" (p. 346.)

Such is Mr. Eton's picture of the Greeks, from whose future alliance Great Britain is to promise herself such certain advantages. "Allies, who long ago would have enabled his Majesty and the Emperor, in all human probability, to have humbled a foe, which now threatens all Europe with total subversion." (p. 371.)

† Voyage fait aux années 1675 et 1676 par Jacob Spon, Docteur medecin, aggregé à Lyons, et George Wheler, gentilhomme Anglois p. 270, ed. 1679.

* A. C. 1679.

west to south east, divides it into two equal parts. The northern provinces of the Ukraine are rich and cultivated. Its southern part which lies in the forty-eighth degree of latitude is the most fertile, but the most desert, country in the world. A bad government counteracts the bounties of Nature. The few inhabitants on the borders of Little Tartary neither plant nor sow; because their country is open to the ravages of the Tartars and the Moldavians, nations of robbers, who would destroy their harvests, and pillage their houses. The Cossaks have always aspired after independence; but the situation of their country, surrounded by the dominions of Russia, Turkey, and Poland, reduces them to the condition of dependent allies of one or other of these great states."*

The Cossaks, though a nation of Christians, resembled the Tartars, in their modes of life, and predatory warfare. Their Hetman, Doroshenskoi, had revolted from Poland, and sought the protection of the Ottoman Porte; but, piqued at the refusal of Mahomet the Fourth to employ him in his expedition against the Poles, he had subjected his nation to Russia, with an army of sixty thousand men of approved valour. The Czar, who, besides gaining over such powerful auxiliaries and obtaining an extension of territory beyond the Dnieper, secured his own frontiers from their incursions, willingly accepted their allegiance, and promised to protect them against their enemies. The honour of the sultan, and the safety of his empire, (for the Cossaks had sometimes extended

* Histoire de Charles XII, Roi de Suéde, liv. iv.

their depredations even into the suburbs of Constantinople*) compelled him to revenge this breach of faith: But, though the Russian power at that time was despised by the Turks, a war in an unknown and inhospitable country, where cold and hunger would impede the progress, and waste the strength, of an invading army, was reluctantly resolved upon; and not actually begun till all means of reconciliation with the Cossaks had failed. Sixty thousand Russians and Cossaks, entrenched near the capital of the Ukraine, prevented the junction of the Tartars with the Turks. The Turks, alarmed at the defeat and slaughter of their confederates, and not daring to risk an engagement, fled with precipitation, and repassed the Bogh. The Turkish perseverance was soon exhausted by difficulties: and the vizir was eager to conclude a war, in which success could only be procured by the endurance of hardships, which he thought too severe for mortals†. Fortune

* Chardin's Travels, pp. 48. 64, 65.—The fortress of Oczacow, at the entrance of the *liman* formed by the confluence of the Dnieper and the Bogh, was built to prevent the piracies and incursions of the Cossaks on the Euxine sea.

† Cantemir's Ottoman History, p. 291.—Voltaire describes the country to the east, between Grodno and the Borysthenes, as covered with marshes, deserts, and immense forests. It was here that Charles the Twelfth and the Czar carried on war, in the middle of the winter of 1709. The Swedes and the Russians, each led on by their warlike sovereign, accounted all seasons alike. The importance and the difficulties of the campaign were expressed by Charles on a medal, *prematurely* struck after the battle of Hollosin, "Silvæ, paludes, aggeres, hostes, victi;" for the rigours of the season were so great, that, in one march, the king lost two thousand men by the severity of the cold, and his army was so much reduced, during the winter, that he was forced to yield his laurels to the Czar, at the battle of Pultowa. I travelled through the Ukraine in the summer of 1805, and witnessed the general truth of Voltaire's description of its physical geography, and its exuberant fertility.

was now beginning to abandon the Ottoman arms in other quarters; and the despondency of the Turks, which Spon had observed, might be founded on the remark, that the first formal renunciation of territory, which had been consecrated to Islamism by *khutbé* and *ezann*, was made to an hitherto-unknown enemy, against whom attack could not, in any age, avail*, and whose means of overpowering resistance must have been exaggerated in their minds, if calculated, according to the Tartar reports, from the extent of his dominions. The sense of their danger must, however, have been confused and inaccurate, or the heroic wife of Peter the Great could not so easily have rescued the Russian empire, from the imminent danger which threatened it at the battle of the Pruth.† The genius of the Ottoman empire slumbered at the

* Darius Hystaspes boldly invaded the Scythian wilds 513 years before Christ, with 700,000 men. His army, exposed during five months to hunger and thirst and the darts of a flying enemy, lost the greatest part of its strength, and would have been wholly destroyed, if the advice of Miltiades, to destroy the bridge of boats on the Danube, had not been rejected. While Darius was regretting the temerity of his undertaking, an ambassador from the kings of Scythia arrived, who, being introduced to the Persian monarch, delivered, in solemn silence, the gifts of his masters, which consisted of a bird, a frog, a mouse, and five arrows. The situation of Darius, and his experience of unavailing hardships, made verbal explanation unnecessary: he hastily withdrew his troops, and abandoned his schemes of Scythian conquest. (Herodot. L. iv.)

† The Czar, relying on the succours promised him by Cantemir, the rebel-prince of Moldavia, had penetrated far into that country, when he found himself on the banks of the Pruth, surrounded by an army of 200,000 Turks and Tartars: his own troops, which at first had only consisted of 80,000 men, were reduced by desertions to less than 30,000, exhausted by fatigue and in absolute want of provisions and forage. In this situation, after giving orders for a general attack at daybreak, the Czar had retired to his tent, anticipating in an agony of despair the event of so unequal a battle. The Czarina alone dared to disobey his orders and break in upon his retirement: she had

signing of the treaty, and seems still desirous of perpetuating his lethargy, till the accomplishment of its destinies. Every event has since confirmed the forebodings of the Turks, and increased their apprehensions: and it seems now to be a popular opinion, that the city, *abounding in faith**, will shortly be contaminated by the presence, and polluted by the supremacy, of the emperor of Russia†. But though such an accession of territory might gratify

summoned a council of the general officers, and had prepared a letter for the grand vizir with proposals for peace; this letter she prevailed upon Peter to sign, and collecting all her money and jewels, she immediately dispatched an officer to the Turkish camp. Her negotiations were so successful, that in spite of the remonstrances of the Swedish king and the intrigues of his agent Poniatowsky, the treaty was begun, concluded, and signed on the 21st of July, 1711. The Czar stipulated to surrender the fortresses on the sea of Azoff, which had been ceded to him at the peace of Carlovitz in 1700, but he never performed his engagements. In the ukaze, or imperial proclamation, by which he afterwards solemnly admitted Catherine to a participation of the sovereignty and the honours of the coronation, he acknowledges with gratitude the important services which she had rendered to the Russian nation on this memorable occasion. Voltaire, Histoire de Charles XII, Roi de Suéde, liv. v.

* ISLAMBOL, one of the names of Constantinople.

† Mr. Eton says, (p. 200.) "they have among them a prophecy, that *the sons of yellowness*, which they interpret to be the Russians, are to take Constantinople." The expression of the sons of yellowness certainly gives this assertion somewhat of an oriental tinge: but the truth is, that the Turks, ever since their defeats by the emperor Leopold, (see Cantemir, p. 244.) have among them a persuasion that their footing in Europe is unstable, and that Asia is the country in which the true faith will longest flourish.

It is much to be regretted, that Dr. Wittman should have sullied his interesting journal by the insertion of the idle tales which ignorant interpreters invent, to amuse the idle curiosity of their masters. I do not deny that a Turk, in a moment of despondency, may have *believed* the existence of the tradition, mentioned in page 233.; but I doubt that any Turk invented it. There is nothing Turkish in the composition,

Consequences of the conquest of Turkey to Russia;

the ambition of the sovereign, yet the interest of the Russian nobility strongly militates against it. The imagination can scarcely contemplate a power, which, from the frozen marshes of the Neva, shall equally extend its icy sceptre over the savages of Tchouski Noss, and the glowing inhabitants of the Arabian deserts. Nevertheless, the establishment of such a power, if the idea can be realized, would follow from the annexation of Thrace to Russia: for what means could then be employed to stop its further progress? the Black Sea would furnish a navy, which would command the Mediterranean; and the resistance of Asiatic troops would scarcely retard the march of a hardy and strictly disciplined soldiery. The consequence of such extension of dominion would be, either the division of the Russian empire into Northern and Southern; or, the seat of government, being removed to a more genial climate, the North would again be neglected, and relapse into its former barbarism. Sweden might then discover that conquest, except it be founded in justice, cannot be legally retained; and might demand the restitution of its ceded provinces. Civilization, which all the cares of a vigilant government cannot naturalize in Russia, and which, among the people, has made almost no progress, would again submit to the benumbing influence of the climate; and an eternal separation, except for the purposes of a limited commerce, would be established between the Northern and Southern worlds. Mr. Eton, from his situation at St. Petersburgh, must have possessed superior advantages, in studying the

except the ignorance, which does not discover, in the extent of the intervening country, a single point of resistance, between the right bank of the Dniester, and the walls of Constantinople.

the politics of the Russian cabinet: and the colossus of power, which the utmost stretch of an ordinary imagination can scarcely comprehend, shrinks into a diminutive stature, when compared with the gigantic proportions of what Mr. Eton assures us, was actually premeditated. "The empress's vast views of aggrandizement extended to the conquest of all European Turkey; the re-establishment of the Greek empire, and placing her grandson Constantine on the throne of Constantinople; of making Egypt an independent state; of incorporating Poland into her own empire; of making a conquest of Japan and a part of China, and establishing a naval power in those seas*."

Volney and other speculative political writers, considering the events, which they themselves had predicted, as inevitable, have felicitated mankind on the augmentation of happiness, which must necessarily ensue, on the accomplishment of their prophecies. Our fancy is dazzled, and our reason is subjugated, by the fascination of their descriptive eloquence, and the subtlety of their arguments. The dislike of other Christian states to so dangerous an innovation is soothed by the suggestion, that nothing is to be apprehended from triumphant Christianity; and opposition is silenced, by representing resistance as vain. "Russia," we are told,

to the other states of Europe, and to the Ottoman subjects.

* Survey of the Turkish Empire, preface, p. xi.—And what next? was the sensible, though natural question of Pyrrhus's secretary, when his master had unfolded to him a similar scheme of conquest: certainly, if the enjoyment or the communication of happiness be the ultimate end and highest gratification of life, the epicurean philanthropist, instead of feeling himself circumscribed by the line of the Russian frontiers, might find ample space for exhibiting his good-will towards men, without even descending from the heights of the little republic of St. Marino.

" is now possessed of all the means, so long and so perseveringly pursued from the time Peter the First took Asoph to this day, of annihilating the monstrous and unwieldy despotism of the Ottoman sceptre in Europe. The empress has also conceived the vast and generous design of delivering Greece from its bondage, and of establishing it under a prince *of its own religion*, as a free and independent nation."—" Another war must totally extinguish the Turkish power in Europe; an event desirable to most Christian nations, and particularly to Great Britain." Poussielgue, who accompanied the French expedition to Egypt, and whose talents are confessed, as well by the commander in chief, as by the English editor of the intercepted correspondence, professes a contrary opinion, " It must eternally be the interest of France, of England, of Prussia, and even of the Emperor, to oppose the downfal of the Ottoman empire*." I will not undertake to determine the degree of respect which may be due to these different authorities, nor will I examine how far the circumstances, which have arisen since the publication of these opinions, may have diminished the means, affected the interests, or changed the dispositions, of the states of Europe. But I question whether either religion or humanity would feel much cause for triumph, in the extension of the Russian power, or the enlargement of the pale of their church. I have observed the Greek religion in Russia and in Turkey: I am indeed unlearned in its peculiar doctrines; but, judging of it from its practice, I confess it to be justly characterized, as a leprous con-

Russian church.

* Volney, Considérations sur la guerre actuelle des Turcs.
Survey of the Turkish Empire, pp. 193. 397.
Intercepted Correspondence from Egypt, part 3d. London, 1800.

position of ignorance, superstition, and fanaticism*. Voltaire describes, as antiquated superstitions which the reformation, introduced by Peter the Great, had abolished, some customs and opinions, so extraordinary, that human reason cannot be believed, by civilized man, to be capable of the degradation of admitting them.† I myself have met with Russians, among whom intoxication seems a precept of their religion; but who would suffer martyrdom, rather than smoke tobacco, because the holy scripture declares that that which enters into the mouth of man does not defile him; but only that which comes out of his mouth. These are men of the old uncorrupted sect, who break the uniformity of a street, rather than perform their devotions in a temple which is not built due east and west; who wear their beards in spite of Peter the Great; and who drink brandy, with as much devotion as that monarch himself. Many, even of the reformed Russian church, are scrupulous of eating pigeons, because the holy spirit is represented under the form of a dove. Their confession is a mockery, if not even an encouragement to iniquity. The priest recites a catalogue of sins, and the penitent roundly confesses himself guilty of the whole, and removes the whole load from his conscience, by obtaining one general absolution. The priests are ignorant and base beyond what can be imagined: I have more than once turned away with disgust from the clergy of

* Voyage à Constantinople, p. 217.—Such an assertion may be thought too general and too severe. The truth of it may even be doubted, by those who have not seen Russia, as the state of religion in no country in Christendom can prepare a traveller for what he will there observe.

† Histoire de Charles XII, liv. 1.

a parish, staggering from house to house, to confer their Easter benediction on their flock, and to compliment them on the return of the festival in repeated draughts of brandy*. These reproaches do not indeed attach to the Greeks of Turkey. They have, in some degree, veiled the deformity of their opinions: but, though less offensive, they are scarcely less absurd. Both the Russian and Turkish divisions of the Greek church unite, in refusing the very name of Christian, to men of other communions.

Russian government.

I assent to the opinion of Mr. Eton, that the court of Russia is sufficiently justified in taking possession of both Tartaries, and reducing the inhabitants to something like social order and subordination. The safety of Russia required it: the Tartars were constantly making incursions into Russia, Poland, and Moldavia, to carry off the inhabitants, and plunder and burn the villages. The ramparts of the Tartars were their deserts: their retreats were in the boundless expanse of their naked plains: it was difficult to conquer, or to check them: the idleness and independence of their mode of life were insuperable difficulties to their settling and becoming cultivators: want and privations were accounted slight inconveniencies, compared to peaceable, laborious, and unagitated, life: nothing could be offered them, equivalent to the pleasures and advantages of rapine and freedom: wherever there was booty, there they discovered enemies; and their enemies themselves con-

* The patriarch of Georgia, a prelate of the Greek communion, is reported by Chardin (p. 191.) to have declared, "that he, who was not absolutely drunk at great festivals, such as Easter and Christmas, could not be a good Christian, and deserved to be excommunicated."

stituted their most valuable booty. But, though a change of life might be a severe punishment to their captives, they never treated them with intentional severity; they either sold them, or employed them, under the care of their women, in menial services, in keeping their flocks, or in pitching and removing their tents. The slaves, however, shared only the same hard fare which satisfied their masters, and experienced from them neither haughtiness, nor ill usage. The conquest of the Tartars was in some degree necessitated by the geographical position of Russia, and it is probable that the sum of human happiness is increased by their subjugation. It may, however, admit of a doubt, whether the same beneficial consequences would attend the further conquests of Russia, and the establishment of its government over the wide and various countries, which have already been enumerated. In the opinion of Mr. Eton, there are two kinds of good government, placed, it is true, at opposite extremes of the scale; but both equally conducive to happiness, and between which there is no medium. "A nation must be perfectly free, or perfectly passive." "Liberty," he says, "has been no where understood, no, not in Athens, but in this happy island." And if in this respect he be in an error, the motive is commendable. But though Mr. Eton does not mean to recommend for imitation the other state of *perfect* government, as established in Russia, since unfortunately those, who have once removed from it, cannot go back again; yet he affirms, that the whole mass of the people is more happy in Russia, than any he has seen in three parts of the globe: "because there, the peasantry look upon the monarch as a divinity, stiling him God of the earth, ZEMNOI BOG; ignorant of any government but a despotic sceptre,

and of any condition but vassalage; *happily deprived of all means of evil information.* The soldiery, content with rye-biscuit and water; the nobility, unable to offer the least opposition to the crown, depending on it for every honourable distinction of rank, civil or military, conferred, *but not inherited,* and which he who bestows can take away, while they who suffer must bless his name. There is no law but the express command of the monarch, who can debase the highest subject to the condition of a slave, or raise the lowest to the first dignity of the empire. But this autocratic sceptre exercises no despotism over the subject insulting to mankind: the Russian monarch is not, like the stupid Ottoman, seated on a throne involved in black clouds of ignorance, supported by cruelty on one hand, and by superstition on the other, at whose feet sits terror, and below terror death."*

Such is Mr. Eton's picture of a real, not an imaginary, Utopia. Fortunately, he does not descend to the minutiæ of the blessings which we, equally happy Britons, enjoy: but let us endeavour to suppress envy, and while we rejoice in the consummate happiness of thirty millions of people, let us rejoice no less in Mr. Eton's assurance, "*that other nations, being once removed from such comforts, need never expect to enjoy them.*"†

* Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 433.—This happy system of government was, in part, formerly enjoyed by Poland. "Là le paysan ne seme point pour lui, mais pour des seigneurs, à qui, lui, son champ, et le travail de ses mains, appartiennent, et qui peuvent le vendre et l'égorger avec le bétail de la terre." (Hist. de Charles XII. liv. 2.)

† Two years after writing this eulogium on the Russian government, Mr. Eton wrote his postscript, though both were published together. The Empress Catherine

As the Ottoman Porte has long since abandoned all schemes of ambition, and religiously observes its treaties with the neighbouring states, the expulsion of the Turks from Europe must be founded only on some of the following ostensible reasons: either, because they are not Christians; or, because their title to the dominion of their vast empire, though acknowledged by every potentate in the world, must now be submitted to examination, as to its justice; or, because their government is despotic, and a great proportion of their subjects are deprived of the exercise and enjoyment of civil liberty, on account of their dissenting from the established predominant religion*. Upon the same principles may the invasion of a regenerating army be justified in any other country, wherein the reins of government are as loosely held, and as unskilfully managed, as in Turkey. I do not, indeed, believe that any European power

Examination of the arguments for dispossessing the Turks.

was then dead; and we are now told, "that it is time the voice of truth shall be heard. It is only in foreign politics that she appears great: as to the internal government of the empire, it was left to the great officers, and they inordinately abused their power with impunity. Hence a most scandalous negligence, and corruption in the management of affairs in every department, and a general relaxation of government, from Petersburgh to Kamschatka." (p 450.) "She knew their conduct; but was deaf, and almost inaccessible, to complaint." (p. 451.) "The institution of general governments was a new burthen on the people of fifty millions of roubles, more than the ancient simple regulations, a sum, equal to three fourths of the whole revenue of the empire. The increase of vexation was still greater." (p. 451.)

* Busbequius indeed gives another reason, which, whether it be so openly avowed or not, will be the chief inducement for carrying into execution "*the vast and generous design*" of conquering Turkey. "Sed si nec laudis nec honesti pulchritudo animos torpentes inflammavit; certe utilitas, cujus hodie prima ratio ducitur, moveri potuit, ut loca tam præclara, tantisque commoditatibus et opportunitatibus plena, Barbaris erepta, *a nobis potius, quam ab aliis vellemus possideri.*" (Epist. i. p. 43.)

would publish a manifesto, grounded on such puerile arguments. If the invasion of Turkey be commanded, the *ratio ultima regum* will silence argument, and enforce conviction on those, who cannot immediately comprehend that the conqueror is acting for their benefit. Besides, if the Turkish title to dominion in Europe be ill-founded, I do not see how the case is altered by the interposition of the Bosphorus and the Hellespont. Asia Minor formed no less than Thrace, a part of the Roman empire, subjected to Rome by unprovoked invasion, by forced or forged concession, and all the arts which the most civilized nations resort to in practice, for the extension of territory. The reasoning against the Turkish power applies no less to Asia than to Europe. And must we recur to mouldy records, to ascertain in what corner of the world the Turks are to be consigned to peace and oblivion?* Must they ramble about in search of Eden, the first seat of the common ancestors of mankind? or retrace their steps to Selinginskoy, whence M. Baillie deduces the origin of human learning? or must the summary Roman method be resorted to, and peace be proclaimed, only when their country is reduced to a solitude?†

Remoteness of amelioration.

The Chevalier D'Ohsson is of opinion, that a revolution of principle, and a change in the system of government, may easily be

* "We wished," says Olivier, (p. 192.) "that the Turks might be forced to return to the wild and distant countries whence they issued."

† "Ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant." (Galgaci Orat. in Taciti Vit. Agric. c. 30.)

introduced into Turkey. It *only* requires a sultan, free from prejudices, superior to the institutions of his country, and the influence of education; assisted by a mufti, animated with the same zeal for the public good; and seconded in his views by a vizir of prudence, courage, and probity.* He ought to have known that the revolution of many ages cannot be expected to produce such an assemblage of virtuous and vigorous minds, endowed with knowledge so diametrically opposite to the principles of their education. The example of Peter the Great, who for a time divested himself of the pomp and power of sovereignty, in order to study the sciences and the art of government in countries more advanced in civilization than his own, is a singular phænomenon in the history of mankind; and a similar instance must not be expected to recur in every thousand years. Conjectures are not to be assumed as facts: neither can I presume to venture any opinion on the probability of either event; though I sincerely wish, that the punishment, which Volney denounces against the empire of the Ottomans, may be averted, either by their own prudence or by providence. According to this author, "the sultan, equally affected with the same ignorance as his people, will continue to vegetate in his palace; women and eunuchs will continue to appoint to offices and places; and governments will be publicly offered to sale. The pashas will pillage the subjects, and impoverish the provinces; the divan will follow its maxims of haughtiness and intolerance; the people will be instigated by fanaticism; the

* Tableau Général, Discours préliminaire, p. xxxiii.

generals will carry on war without intelligence, and continue to lose battles, until this incoherent edifice of power, shaken to its basis, deprived of its support, and losing its equilibrium, shall fall, and astonish the world with another instance of mighty ruin.*

* Considérations sur la guerre actuelle des Turcs.

CHAPTER III.

CONSTITUTION OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

Code of laws.—Authority and prerogatives of the sultan:—His vicegerents;—His titles,—personal sanctity,—and absolute power.—Laws of succession.—Princes of the blood.—The Ulema, or law-officers:—their classes,—privileges,—functions and power—inviolability,—submission to government.—Nature of the fetwa.—Order of legal dignities.—The priesthood.—Grand Vizir.—Divan, or council of state.—Sublime Porte, or Ottoman cabinet.—Domestic and foreign administration.—Government of provinces.—Revenues of pashas:—their modes of life:—precariousness of their offices.—Hazne, or sultan's treasure.—Reflection on the sultan's direct interference in government,—in administering justice,—in conducting war.—Subjection of the people.—Political, civil, and religious distinctions.—Means of redress against tyranny and oppression.

Code of laws.

THE Ottoman empire is governed by a code of laws called *multeka*, founded on the precepts of the *koran*, the oral laws of the prophet, his usages or his opinions; together with the sen-

tences and decisions of the early caliphs, and the doctors of the first ages of Islamism. This code is a general collection of laws relating to religious, civil, criminal, political, and military affairs; all equally respected, as being theocratical, canonical, and immutable; though obligatory in different degrees, according to the authority which accompanies each precept. In some instances it imposes a duty of eternal obligation, as being a transcript of the divine will, extracted from the registers of heaven, and revealed to Mahomet: in others it invites to an imitation of the great apostle in his life and conduct. To slight the example is indeed blameable, but does not entail upon the delinquent the imputation or penalty of guilt; and a still inferior authority accompanies the decisions of doctors on questions, which have arisen since the death of the prophet*. This sacred

* Of the first kind, are the interdictions of the use of wine, the flesh of hogs, the blood of animals, &c. &c.—Of the second kind, are the prohibitions against clothes made of silk, vessels of gold or silver, &c. &c.—and of the third, the opinions respecting the use of opium, coffee, tobacco, &c. &c.

Le texte du *cour'ann* et celui du *hadiss*, recueil de toutes les lois orales de Mohammed, portent le nom de *nass*, qui signifie le texte par excellence; et leurs commentaires celui de *tefsir*. Le texte de tous les ouvrages théologiques et canoniques qui ont été faits d'après l'esprit de ces deux premiers livres, s'appelle *methn*: les commentaires qui les accompagnent, *scherhh*; les explications qui en ont été faites depuis, *haschiyé*, et celles qui leur servent encore de développement, *talikath*. Le code *multéka* qui embrasse l'universalité de la législation religieuse est le résumé de cette immensité d'ouvrages. (Tab. Gén. V. i. p. 326.)

M. Ruffin, on the authority of M. le Comte de St. Priest, denies that the *multeka* is a code, since it is only the sum of the opinions of an infinite number of commentators, who never made one single law. "If the *koran*," he says, "be not the code of the Mahometans, they have none, and have at most only a jurisprudence." (De Tott, Appendix, p. 41.)

deposit is confided to the sultan in his character of caliph and chief imam; and he is invested with the sovereign executive command.* On matters unforeseen, or unprovided for by the first promulgators of the law, the sultan pronounces, as the interest of religion, and the advantage or honour of the state require.† These imperial decrees (or *khatt'y sherif*,) considered as emanations from human authority, are susceptible of modification, or even of abolition, and remain in force only during the pleasure of the sultan or his successors. They cannot however be revoked or annulled on slight grounds, or without sufficient reason; for it is believed by the multitude that what is said or done by the sultans is so firm, as not to be retracted on any human account.‡

Authority and prerogatives of the sultan.

* The title of *Caliph*, so important in the eyes of Islamism, as conferring the powers of sovereign pontiff, administrator of justice, and doctor of legislation, was obtained for the princes of the Ottoman dynasty by Selim the First, on the conquest of Egypt. The rights of the caliphat had indeed been exercised by his ancestors from the first foundation of the monarchy; but under titles which indicated only the temporal power, such as *bey*, *emir*, and *sultan*.

† La législation religieuse donne expressément aux sultans, en qualité d'imams suprêmes, la liberté de suivre, dans les affaires publiques, ce que les temps et les circonstances peuvent exiger pour le bien de l'état et l'intérêt général du peuple Musulman. (Tab. Gén. Introduction, p. 44.)

‡ The grand signor's signature called *tughra* is affixed by a proper officer, *nishanji pasha*, not at the bottom, but at the beginning, over the first line of the mandate. If the emperor intends a more than ordinary confirmation, he writes with his own hand over the *tughra*, "according to the underwritten be it done." Such a *khatt'y sherif* is held in great veneration by the Turks, who religiously kiss it when they touch it, and wipe off the dust on their cheeks.

His vicegerents.

The sultan's delegates are the *sheïk islam* or mufti, chief minister of the legal, the judicial, and the religious power; and the grand vizir, who as keeper of the seal of the empire, exercises all the temporal authority and presides over the political administration. Mr. Eton misapprehends the nature of this division of power, as well as the power itself. He says, "The Ottoman princes committed a political error, when they *resigned* the spiritual supremacy into the hands of the theological lawyers, who now share with the sovereign the direct exercise of the *legislative, executive,* and *judicial powers.*"* But an appeal to history, or an observation of the actual state of things, will shew that the legislative power, (if indeed it can be said to be exercised at all in Turkey,) as also the executive power, reside only in the sovereign.† The theological lawyers, as will be hereafter shewn, are invested only with the interpretation of the law, and the administration of justice between the citizens.‡

His titles,

At court, when mention is made of the sultan, the appellation of *alem-penah* (refuge of the world) is usually added to his title of

* Survey of the Turkish empire, pp. 20, 21.

† The sultan's titles of *Padishah-Islam,* emperor of islamism, *Imam-ul-Muslimin,* pontiff of Mussulmans, *Sultan Dinn,* protector of the faith, confirm the assertion in the text.

‡ L'office des *mouftis* consiste, non pas à interpréter à leur gré les préceptes du *cour'ann* et les lois canoniques, mais à les annoncer, à les publier, à les faire connôître à tous ceux qui ont recours à leurs lumières. (Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. 496.)

For the history and more detailed account of the code *multeka,* see the introduction to D'Ohsson's Tableau Général, pp. 1—24.

padishah, or emperor. His loftiest title, and the most esteemed, because given to him by the kings of Persia, is *zil-ullah* (shadow of God;) and the one the most remote from our manners, though common among all ranks of his subjects, is *hunkiar* (the man-slayer); which is given to him, not, as has been asserted, because "in the regular administration of government, he executes criminal justice *by himself*, without process or formality,"* but because the law has invested him alone with absolute power over the lives of his subjects. The Turkish casuists indeed attribute to the emperor a character of holiness, which no immoral conduct can destroy; and as he is supposed to perform many actions by divine impulse, of which the reasons or motives are inscrutable to human wisdom, they allow that he may kill *fourteen* persons every day, without assigning a cause, or without imputation of tyranny.† Death by his hand, or by his order, if submitted to without resistance, confers martyrdom; and some, after passing their lives in his service, are reported to have aspired to the honour of such a consummation, as a title to eternal felicity.‡ His power, in the opinion of their most learned civilians, is re-

personal sanctity,

and absolute power.

* Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 30.

† Les vices ni la tyrannie d'un imam n'exigent pas sa déposition. (Tab. Gén. V. 1. p. 288.)

Cantemir, p. 71. Note.

Rycaut says that "the grand signor can never be deposed or made accountable to any for his crimes, whilst he destroys *causelessly*, of his subjects, under the number of *a thousand* a day." (Present state of the Ottoman empire, p. 7.)

‡ Rycaut, p. 8.

stricted only in the observance of the religious institutions; for in civil and political matters, the law admits such a latitude of interpretation, that his will alone is sovereign, and is subject neither to controul nor censure.

The sultan is the universal proprietor of all the immovable wealth in the empire, except the funds destined to pious purposes.* He is however restrained, both by law and custom, in the exercise of this right over the property of subjects not immediately employed in the service of government, and it is only in default of natural heirs that such property lapses to the crown.† The sultan is also the sole fountain of honour: from his pleasure flows all dignity, all nobility, and all power. Birth confers no privilege: he raises to honour, or debases, whom he pleases: he seldom interposes his authority in the ordinary course of affairs; but he decides upon the conduct of his ministers or his lieutenants with military promptitude, and with military severity; and indeed the constant interference of absolute authority, threatening in its denunciations, and rigorous in its exercise,

* Hæc ditio, in munus aut feudum nulli tradita, sed unius tantum nutui parens, &c. (Montalbani, Rer. Turc. Comment in Turc. imp. statu. ap. Elzevir. p. 39.)

† Sultan Soliman respected the private property of a Jew, who refused to sell a house of small value in the centre of a piece of ground which he had pitched upon to build his mosque. De Tott, who relates the anecdote (V. 1. p. 152.) says, that "he consulted the mufti and obtained it by a just sentence." But though I do not wish to detract from the merit of such moderation, I must suppose the sultan in this instance, to have been apprehensive lest prayers, offered up on a ground possessed by violence, should be rejected by the *Just*.

seems necessary for enforcing the obedience of governors, invested with sovereign authority, throughout an empire so widely extended.*

Laws of succession.

It is a constitutional maxim that the Ottoman empire never falls to the spindle. The succession is established in the two principal branches of the families of the Oguzian tribe, the Othmanidæ and the Jenghizians. In case of failure in the Ottoman race, a successor to the empire must be chosen from the sovereign family of the Crim Tartars, which is derived from the same common stock.† The prevalence of this prejudice, and the singular veneration of the Turks for the reigning family are the chief, if not the only support of the Ottoman power. The janizaries, no less powerful and no less licentious than the prætorians, have dethroned, but have never usurped the privilege of electing an emperor. The reaction of the same principle, while it tends to the stability of the throne,

* Mr. Eton says, (p. 27.) " the forms of administration are purely military This is so thoroughly the case, that the grand seignior is still supposed to reign, as formerly, in the midst of his camp; he even dates his public acts from his *imperial stirrup.*" I have searched with some care for the authority on which Mr. Eton quotes this fact; but I am still compelled to leave to him the " onus probandi."

† Cantemir's history, Preface, pp. 14, 15. Rycaut, p. 58. " Point de félicité," says the prophet himself, " point de salut pour un peuple gouverné par une femme! Ces paroles sont devenues depuis une loi fondamentale, et une des premières maximes de l'état." (Tab. Gén. V. 1. p. 275.)

contributes no less to the personal safety of the great officers of government.

The jealousy of the sultan can never be excited against his vizirs or his generals; nor can the ambition of a subject ever dare to aspire above the footsteps of the throne. The imperial majesty slumbers in the arms of a minister, who is invested with all the pomp and all the power of royalty; to whom nothing is left to covet except the imperial dignity, and whose precarious existence is dependent on the favour of his master.* Yet though every motive of ambition and self preservation, together with the possession of such ample means, may seem to suggest the consummation of treason and rebellion, the Ottoman annals do not record an attempt, or any intimation of an attempt to transfer the sacred diadem to a private head. The unity of the sovereignty is essential to the very existence of a Mussulman community. The Mahometan church acknowledges no legitimate form of government except the monarchical, because of the necessary union of the sacerdotal with the temporal power. It admits of no division of authority, no partition of dominion: the sovereign power is irreconcileable with curtailment or association, and like the state which is subject to its sway, is one and indivisible. Cara Mustafa Pasha, the vizir who conducted the siege of Vienna in the reign of Mahomet the Fourth, is indeed

* Cum nihil sit amplius, præter imperatorium fastigium, quod concupiscere Vizirius posse videatur: tunc levissima quaque de causa vel summovetur ab onere, vel interficitur. (Montalbanus, ap. Elzevir, p. 19.)

accused by historians of the design of assuming to himself the title of sultan of Vienna, and founding a Mussulman empire in the west.* The charge of treachery, against an unsuccessful general, is easily credited. His attempt is reprobated by the Turks; but the authenticity of the accusation may be questioned, as it rests merely on the report of a rival, and is not supported by the evidence of any overt act. The empire does not descend in a right line from father to son, but devolves to the oldest surviving male of the Imperial family; as in the instance of the reigning emperor, who ascended the throne to the exclusion of his cousins, the sons of Abdulhamid, his immediate predecessor. This law, which was intended to guard against the inconveniences of a minor's reign, is so far religiously observed; but the right of seniority even among princes of mature age, has not always been respected. Osman, the founder of the monarchy, was the first who deviated from its observance: on his death-bed he appointed his second son Orchan to succeed him, instead of Aladin Pasha, who was set aside, because of his love for retirement, and his attachment to speculative studies.† The presumptive heirs to the empire live in honourable confinement in the palace called *eski serai*, and are placed by the law under the more especial protection of the *janizar aga* (general of the janizaries), whose duty it is to guard them from the cruelty or jealousy of the sultan: hence he is honoured by them with the name of *lala*, Princes of the blood.

* Cantemir, p. 304.

† Tab. Gén. V. 1. p. 284.

tutor or foster-father.* The custom of imprisoning the minor princes is repugnant to the spirit of Mussulman legislation, and is a law of the seraglio, dictated by fear and cruelty, the ruling passions of an effeminate tyrant. These victims of corrupt political institution are sequestered from general society, except when they momentarily quit their prison during the festival of the *baïram*, in order to present their homage to the sultan. Sensual gratifications, it has been said, constitute their only enjoyments; but sensual pleasures are an inadequate compensation for the want of liberty, and even these are embittered by the reflection, if men so educated are capable of reflection, that the offspring of their luxury is condemned to be torn from the first embraces of its parents by the hands of an inexorable assassin.†

The ulema or law officers:

The ulema, the perpetual and hereditary guardians of the religion and laws of the empire, from which order the *mufti* is

* Lord Sandwich says, (p. 210.) that "Upon the death of one of these princes, the *janizar aga*, with the *cul kiahyasi*, and the two *cadileskers*, go to the seraglio, where they examine the corpse naked, in order to discover if there are any marks of violence."

† Dr. Pouqueville (Voyages, V. ii. p. 164.) affirms that "the noblest passions of the Ottoman princes are *designedly perverted* during their imprisonment in the *eski serai*." But on what authority does he assert such calumny? Charles the Twelfth, of Sweden, gives us a useful caution against admitting reports on the mere credit of a traveller in Turkey. "M. Fabrice ayant dit à sa Majesté," says M. de la Motraye (Voyages, V. ii. p. 11), "que j'étois un voyageur, elle lui répondit en souriant, J'ai remarqué que les voyageurs usent du privilège des poëtes, et nous en donnent bien à garder."

chosen, form a body highly respected and powerful.* The venerable title of *ulema*, (which signifies doctors or learned men) is common to the whole order, which is however divided into three distinct classes, comprehending indeed the ministers of religion, but distinguishing them from the *foukahha*, or jurisconsults, who are again subdivided into *muftis*, or doctors of law, and *cadis* or ministers of justice. their classes,

From the influence of this order of men with the people, they have sometimes been used by the heads of factions to stir up rebellion, to direct the public opinion against the throne, and to justify subsequent usurpation, but though, when united with the janizaries, they may occasionally have thwarted the measures of government, their power is little formidable in itself. The honour and the prerogatives of their order, which form an enviable distinction between the ulema and the other classes of the nation, give them an important rank in the state, and a powerful ascendancy over the minds as well of the court, as the people. They pay no taxes or public imposts, and by a peculiar privilege their property is hereditary in their families, and is not liable to arbitrary confiscations. The preservation of these rights privileges,

* The dignity is perpetual and hereditary, not in individuals but in the order. " Autrefois" says D'Ohsson (V. iv. p. 545) " ces offices étoient perpétuels, mais vers la fin du siécle dernier l'état les rendit amovibles, comme le sont toutes les charges civiles et politiques.—Aujourdhui ces emplois sont annuels." Rycaut had properly described the offices of the ulema, accordingly as they were held when he wrote in the middle of the seventeenth century, and Sir James Porter, who copied from him, was not aware of the change which had taken place.

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and immunities consequently unites the rich and powerful families of the ulema, and makes them forget their mutual jealousies, and relinquish their schemes of private ambition, whenever it is thought necessary to guard against a common danger. Despotism has sufficient range without invading their privileges, and the *fetwas* of the mufti, in unison with the wishes of government, have never been refused, but when the sceptre was falling from the grasp of an unsuccessful or enervated sovereign.

The power of the ulema has been much magnified by different writers. Those however who have latterly observed them, have noticed what they suppose to be the declension of their influence, and have imagined causes to account for it: formerly, it is said, they admitted no one into their order, not even of the first pashas families, who was not recommended by some extraordinary merit; but now the sultan creates ulema at his pleasure, and these appointments, where favour supersedes desert, have diminished the consideration which they once enjoyed. The children of *mollas* are admitted into the body of ulema with the consent of the *sheïk islam*; but it requires an express order of the sovereign to obtain admission for the children of other families, however illustrious from their rank or dignities. It is nevertheless by such that the superior offices are usually filled, though the custom is by no means an innovation, as it has existed as long as the monarchy itself.

functions and powers.

An error of the first consequence, and which has misled most writers in their speculations on the nature of the Turkish govern-

ment, is that which represents the ulema as the ministers of religion, exercising controul over the minds of men, still more unlimited than that of the Christian clergy, in the darkest ages, and in the plenitude of their temporal power. The functions of the ulema, the doctors and expounders of the law, are however perfectly distinct and unconnected with those of the *imams* or immediate ministers of religion. These do not even belong to the order of the ulema, in the restricted meaning and general acceptation of the word: their service is confined to the mosques, and to the duties and ceremonies of public worship.* Mr. Eton, however, calls the ulema "a powerful priesthood:—the teachers of religion, combining the offices of priest and lawyer:—possessing like the priests under the Jewish theocracy, the oracles both of law and religion, and uniting in themselves the power of two great corporations, those of the law and of the church."† Sir James Porter considers the ulema as "equal, if not superior to any nobility," and balancing the power of the sovereign. "Their persons," he says, "are sacred," and "they can, *separately*, by availing themselves of the implicit respect of the people and the soldiery, rouse them to arms, mark out the point of limitation transgressed by the prince, and proceed to a formal deposition; nay, of such high importance is their intermediate power in the

* This distinction of powers is plainly inferred in the following passage: "Un *imam* mineur n'a le droit d'exercer par lui-même aucunes fonctions relatives à l'*imameth*, ni de faire aucun acte juridique; privé de ce droit, il ne peut le déférer ni aux *khatibs* et aux *imams*-prêtres, *pour l'exercice de la religion*, ni aux *mollas* et aux *cadys pour l'administration de la justice*." (Tab. Gén. V. i. p. 276.)

† Survey of the Turkish empire, pp. 20. 37. 121.

state, that a grand signor can never be deposed without their concurrence."* Mr. Eton says, that "if the sultan were to omit the indispensable preliminary of the *fetwa* to any political act, the mufti, motu proprio, would declare him an infidel."† And Peyssonnel asserts that the power of the ulema, counterbalancing that of the sovereign, takes from the Ottoman government the character of arbitrary power, for with such a constitutional check there can be no despotism.‡

Inviolability.

De Tott, with the best possible means of acquiring information during his stay in Turkey, surveyed but superficially the people he professes to describe, and wrote his memoirs under the influence of prejudice. I appeal therefore to his authority, only when it is confirmed by the testimony of history, or by my own observation. We may, however, with sufficient accuracy, ascertain from his report, to what extent the profession of these gentlemen renders their persons inviolable, and their characters sacred. "Indeed," says he, "though the ulema can interpret the law as they please, and animate the people against their sovereign, he, on the other hand, can with a single word depose the mufti, banish him, and even put him to death, with as many of the ulema as may fall under his displeasure."§ The law, it is said, authorises the sultan

* Observations on the religion, laws, government, &c. of the Turks, preface, p. 33.

† Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 24.

‡ Strictures and Remarks on De Tott's memoirs, p. 208.

§ De Tott, Memoirs, V. i. p. 189.

to banish the ulema, but not to put them to death: and if any part of the law could, by the collective or separate efforts of its ministers, be kept inviolate, it certainly would be that article, which so much interests themselves; and yet we find that Murad the Fourth commanded a mufti to be pounded to death in a marble mortar, and justified this extraordinary punishment by saying, that "the heads whose dignity exempts them from the sword, ought to be struck with the pestle."* Nor is the respect of the people or the soldiery so implicit, but that they have exercised, in all its atrocity, their sovereign power against the ulema, who had incurred their high displeasure. During an insurrection in the reign of Mustafa the Second, not only they put to death, with horrid cruelties, a mufti who had, in their judgment, misled the sultan; but they went so far as to excommunicate him, denied him the rights of sepulture, and delivered his mangled body to be insulted over by the mock ceremonies of a Greek priest.† An

* Cantemir, p. 184, note.—The fact is mentioned by Cantemir, though he does not quote his authority for it. D'Ohsson acknowledges it to be a popular tradition among the Turks, that this punishment is reserved for criminal or refractory members of the ulema; but he can discover no example in the annals of the Ottoman monarchy of its having been executed. (Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. 604.)

It has been said that the marble mortar, appropriated to the express purpose of braying the bones of the ulema, was deposited in the seven towers (Rycaut, p. 107.); but Dr. Pouqueville, who was himself confined as a state prisoner in that fortress, assures us (Voyages, V. ii. p. 80.) of the contrary, "tandisque le plus grand nombre des Turcs assurent qu'il est dans le sérail, et que les hommes les plus raisonnables pensent qu'il n'existe pas, et que c'est un être de terreur qu'on ne connoît plus depuis bien des siècles.

† Cantemir, p. 437. De la Motraye, V. i, p. 333.

ancient prejudice, founded on the respect due to religion and its ministers, protects individuals of the order of the ulema from judicial inflictions entailing infamy or dishonour. Imprisonment or exile are the only punishments to which they are now exposed, unless the enormity of their offence be such, as to require severer reprobation, and even then, before government denounces its sentence against the criminal, it compels him to abdicate his profession, and to quit the turban which particularly distinguishes it.

submission to government.

It is difficult to account for the introduction of the opinion, that the powers of the Ottoman sovereigns and the Mussulman hierarchy are in a state of continual opposition and warfare. "These two powers," says De Tott, "have the same source, and it is easy to perceive the disagreement and contention which must arise, since their right is equal, and their interests different."* The abstract power of the ulema, as well as that of every corporation necessary for upholding society under any particular form, must consequently have the same common basis as the monarchical power; the fundamental laws, or constitutional usages of the empire. But, though derived from the same source, there is this essential difference between them, that, in the one instance, the constitution, having established the order of succession, interferes no further in the election of the individual, who is to exercise the sovereign authority; while it leaves to the discretion of the monarch, the partition and appropriation to individuals of the authority to be exercised by the different members of a corporation: so that

* Memoirs, V. i. p. 28.

though it be admitted that the power of the ulema is co-existent with the constitution, yet no individual of that body can hold it immediately, or otherwise than from the good pleasure of the sultan; nor can he legally exert it, independently of, and still less, contrarily to, his pleasure. Can men thus dependent on the caprice of the sultan, not only for their appointment and continuance in office, but for their existence, form a balance to his power, which is founded on the absolute command of the empire, and the influence which its universal patronage must bestow? Rycaut properly estimates this so much vaunted constitutional check. "Though the mufti," he says, "is many times, for custom, formality, and satisfaction of the people consulted with, yet when his sentences have not been agreeable to the designs intended, I have known him in an instant thrown from his office to make room for another oracle better prepared for the purpose of his master."* And indeed it is admitted by Mr. Eton, that "the power which the sultan has reserved to himself of nominating and deposing the mufti, creates for him, among the ulema, as many partisans as there are candidates aspiring to the pontificate,"† that is, the whole body of the ulema, unless we suppose that the doctors

* Present state of the Ottoman empire, p. 6.—An anonymous writer, who appears to have filled the honourable station of *bailo*, or ambassador from the Venetian republic to the Ottoman porte, in a memoir addressed to the senate, describes the authority of the mufti as a passive instrument in the hands of government. "Id tamen non ignorandum est, hunc Mofftim perpetuo adulari principi, et ad ejus placita opinionem suam accomodare, suasque sententias ex temporum opportunitate immutare." De urbe Const. et imp. Turc. relatio incerti apud Honorium in Turc. imp. statu ap. Elzevir, p. 136.

† Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 23.

of Islamism, the followers of the ambitious Mahomet, are less aspiring than the humble professors of more self-denying doctrines.

It is inconceivable on what is founded the assertion that the interests of the ulema are different from those of the sultan: they neither legislate nor execute the laws; but merely expound them, administer justice, and settle differences between individuals, giving sentence according to law, with a latitude of interpretation which is indeed allowed them, but which is regulated by precedent, and the usages of their tribunal, and checked by the right of appeal, which in cases of irregularity or injustice, is left open to either party, from their decision, to the sovereign in council, where the vizir his representative confirms or reverses the sentence.* Their power can scarcely be supposed to interfere with any act of the sultan, as in cases of treason, or which in any manner regard his authority, he decides for himself, without reference or appeal to them. We are told that the grand signor cannot sign a treaty of peace without their consent, and in the same sense it may be said, that the signature of a minister is necessary to give validity to the proclamation of a Christian prince; but if the sultan require the public sanction of the mufti to any political act, can we doubt whether, if the mufti refused his approbation, the sultan would hesitate between annulling the act, or deposing the mufti? If a

Nature of the fetwa.

* "The prime vizir, as he is the representative of the grand signor, so he is the head or mouth of the law; to him appeals may be made, and any one may decline the ordinary course of justice, to have his case decided by his determination—by virtue of his unlimited power he can reverse the verdict and determine as he pleases." (Rycaut, p. 44.)

successful usurper wish to gloss over his rebellion by a *fetwa*, would he relinquish the sovereignty; or not rather re-instate the marble mortar, if the mufti persisted in his loyalty?* That the fetwa is not even an indispensable preliminary is evident; for in the reign of Mahomet the Fourth, when the mufti joined with the dowager empress in protesting against an unjust infraction of the treaty made with the emperor of Germany, his opinion was over-ruled by the vizir and the army; and war, unfortunately for the Ottoman empire, was resolved upon.† Neither religion, nor the law, nor

* "To this body," says Sir James Porter (preface, p. 33.) "the grand signor appeals for a sanction to every important act of state, whether relative to peace or war; and in every criminal cause, even in those in which his own servants are concerned, he cannot take the life of a single subject, without the mufti's decree."

A Constantinople, quelque despotique que soit le grand seigneur, il ne peut souscrire à un projet de paix, sans l'avis du mufti et le consentement des gens de loi." (Hist. des négociations pour la paix conclue à Belgrade, V. i. p. 157.)

"In rebus politicis," says the Venetian bailo (Relatio, p. 136.) with a more profound knowledge of the subject than the English ambassador, "princeps ejusdem (sc. moffiis) autoritate utitur *ut se justum ac religiosum ostendat*. Ipsius enim petit responsum cum de bello hostibus inferendo, tum etiam de cæteris quibuscunque rebus, quæ ad imperium spectent: quo scilicet religionis medio subditos disponit promptius ad sua jussa peragenda."

† The Ottoman court long deliberated whether they should grant assistance to Tekeli, who had revolted from the emperor of Germany and engaged almost all the people of Hungary in his rebellion, or whether the rebels should be only supported in a private manner, until the twenty years truce, made by Kioprili Ahmed Pasha, should be expired. The latter opinion was approved by all the ulema, together with the sultana-mother, who declared it to be unjust to wage war with a prince, who had given no cause of complaint, but had hitherto strictly observed the conditions of the truce. (Cantemir, p. 296.) I willingly take this opportunity of shewing that breach of faith with Christians is not systematic with the Turks; in contradiction indeed of the assertions of Baron Busbek (de re mil. cont. Tur. inst. cons. p 271.) and of Mr. Eton, but

the political constitution of the empire, impose upon the monarch the obligation of consulting the mufti on the more important affairs of state, or on the ordinary acts of his government. Piety, or superstitious weakness, or more properly an habitual conformity with established practice, induces the sultan to appeal in general to the approbation of the legal authorities; but in most instances such proceedings are rather dictated by caution and policy, especially in troublesome times, or in novel and hazardous enterprises. The determination of the sultan, if justified by the unanimous opinion of the chiefs of the ulema, obtains more implicit respect from the people; and being thus supported by the authority of divine and human law, removes from the sovereign and his ministers all responsibility as to the evils which may eventually result from it. Princes of more haughty temper and greater firmness of character, such as Selim the First, and Murad the Fourth, have, notwithstanding, placed themselves above such considerations, and not only neglected these formalities, but treated with disdain the wisdom and the counsels of the mufti and ulema.*

On the whole, though, when goaded on by a turbulent soldiery against an irresolute or luxurious prince, their holy clamour may have increased the uproar of insurrection, yet never in any period

in unison with the opinion of the Turkish populace, who attributed to the perjury of the porte the ill success of the expedition against Vienna, and afterwards dethroned the sultan for having broken the peace before the expiration of the truce.

* Tableau Général, V. iv. p. 513.

of their history, did the gentlemen of the ulema, either collectively, or separately, motu proprio, dispose of the Ottoman sceptre.*

Much outward honour, and many important functions are bestowed upon the *ulema*. They are educated under the care of professors, called *muderriss*, in the academies, called *medresses*, annexed to the *jamis* or greater mosques, and chiefly of royal foundation. From these schools are chosen the *mehhkeme kiatibi*, or clerks of tribunals; *naibs*, or substitutes of the judges; *cadis*, or judges of lesser towns; *mollas*, or judges of the principal towns or cities; the *istambol effendi*, judge and inspector general over the city of Constantinople; next to whom are the two *cazy-askers*, or supreme judges of Romelia and Anatolia, who sit in the *divan* on the right hand of the vizir: and the highest in dignity is the *mufti*, who is also called *sheik islam*, prelate of orthodoxy, and *fetwa sahibi*, giver of judgments. The mufti always performs the ceremony of girding on the sabre, which answers to our coronation. He alone has the honour of kissing the sultan's left shoulder; and the sultan rises up, and advances seven steps towards him; whereas the vizir, who is met only with three steps, with more profound reverence kisses the hem of his garment.†

Order of legal dignities.

* Ryeaut, (p. 19.) in his account of a popular tumult at Constantinople during the minority of Mahomet the Fourth, gives an instance of the passive compliance of a mufti. "He feared," says he, "that if he gave not his concurrence, he himself should be killed, and the rather because he overheard a discourse to that effect.—Pen and ink being brought, the mufti wrote the sentence."

† Courtier, p. 36. note.—"De tous les grands de l'empire, les oulémas du premier ordre, tels que le mouphty et les cazi-askers, sont les seuls qui aient la liberté d'aller en

The priesthood.

The mere recapitulation of the degrees, by which the students of the colleges rise to the highest professional dignities, must shew that the ulema are wholly unconnected with the ecclesiastical order. The ministers of religion, indeed, receive their education in common with the ulema in the colleges, and together they form the class of students, called *softa*:* but, when they have once entered upon the ministry, so distinct are they from the body of lawyers, that they are even arranged under a separate jurisdiction. The *kislar aga*, or chief of the black eunuchs, and not the mufti, is the delegate of the sultan's authority in the ecclesiastical department; for it is he who is superintendant of all the royal mosques, and receiver of their rents and endowments. To each of these he constitutes an officer named *mutevelli*, or administrator, who collects the revenues, and disburses the necessary expences for keeping the buildings in repair, maintaining the priests, and providing whatever the splendour of public worship requires. The offices in the Turkish government, partaking of their peculiar policy, cannot be properly compared to any similar ones among Europeans; and much misapprehension has been occasioned by the attempt to render every foreign custom or establishment intelligible by comparison. Cantemir says we may compare the *mufti*

voiture. Celle du *mouphty* est couverte de drap vert, et celles des *cazi-askers* le sont de drap rouge. (Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. 181.)

* "Parvenu à un certain âge, et à un degré suffisant de connoissances, tout *softa* est maître d'embrasser à son gré ou le ministère de la religion, ou le ministère de la loi, ou le ministère de la justice. Les deux premiers états n'offrent à l'ambition qu'une carrière assez bornée, mais aussi ceux qui se destinent au troisième, sont tenus à de plus longues études et soumis à des formalités plus rigoureuses." (Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. 187.)

to the pope, the *cazy-asker* to a patriarch, the *molla* to an archbishop or metropolitan, the *cadi* to a bishop; and to complete the hierarchy, he overlooks the separation of the professions, and compares the *imam* to a priest and the *danischmend* or scholars to our deacons. With equal propriety he might compare the sovereign manslayer of the Ottomans with the first magistrate, the beneficent father, of a great, enlightened, and high-spirited people.*

Montesquieu justly observes, that the seraglio of a despotic prince is always increased in proportion to the extent of his dominions, and consequently the greater his empire, the more is he detached by the seductions of pleasure from the cares of government. The establishment of a vizir is therefore a fundamental law of despotism. That such has been universally the custom of the East, is proved by history,† and the concurring testimony of travellers; and still

Grand vizir.

* Cantemir, p. 32. note.—The merit of this notable discovery is not due to Cantemir: he is however accountable for the greater absurdity of having adopted it. I find it first mentioned by Leunclavius, (In Turc. imp. statu ap. Elzevir, p. 201.) "Ludovicus Bassanus Jadrensis in hunc modum comparat eos cum nostris ecclesiasticis. Primum, *muphtim* dicit esse inter ipsos instar vel papæ vel patriarchæ Græcorum. Quippe juris omnis et sacrorum rex est, uti veteres etiam Romani loquebantur. Huic proximi sunt *cadeleschcri*, id est, supremi judices, qui Arabum Maurorumque lingua dicuntur *cadi asker*. Bassanus hos cum archiepiscopis nostris comparat. Sequuntur *cadii*, veluti proximum post archiepiscopos locum obtinent episcopi. Secundum hos sunt *hoggiæ*, qui séniores dicuntur, ut Græcis et nostris presbyteri. Excipiunt *hoggias talismani*, ceu presbyteros diaconi. Ultimi sunt *derwisii*, qui monachis nostris respondent. *Talismani* Mahumetanos ad preces interdiu et noctu quinquies dicendas excitant. Clepsydris veteri more Græcorum utuntur, ad distinguenda tam diurna quam nocturna temporum spatia."

† "And again Pharao said to Joseph: Behold, I have appointed thee over the

more by a game of eastern invention, the origin of which is lost in the darkness of antiquity. In the game of chess the moves of the king are made solely with a view to his own personal safety, while the vizir (which is the original name of the piece we call the queen) moves rapidly in every direction, and regulates, and conducts the campaign.*

The *vizir azem*, in the full exercise of his authority, is restrained only by the will of his master, and the fundamental religious laws of the empire.† His responsibility is equal to the importance of his office; and the evils which result, either from injudicious administration, or from misfortunes which no prudence can constantly avert, are equally imputed to him.‡ Subject to certain forms,

whole land of Egypt. And he took his ring from his own hand, and gave it into his hand: And the king said to Joseph: I am Pharao: without thy commandment no man shall move hand or foot in all the land of Egypt." Genesis, chap. 41. ver. 41, 42. 44.

* The latin name *latrunculus* seems evidently a derivation from the Persian *satranj*, by merely giving it a latin termination, and by changing the first letter: as is at this day the custom of the Turks, in order to give to a foreign word a signification in their own language.

The Swedish king, Charles the Twelfth, endeavoured to correct this sluggishness, so dishonourable in his opinion to the regal character: but habits are stubborn things, and the sultan, when forced into action, did but accelerate the loss of the battle. (Voltaire, Histoire de Charles XII. liv. iv.)

† "Nihil aliud vezirio præscribitur, quam ut videat ne imperium aut imperator aliquid detrimenti patiatur." (Montalbanus in Turc. imp. statu ap. Elzevir. p. 28.)

‡ "Le premier ministre a le plus grand intérêt de voir par lui-même l'état des connétables, et d'inspecter la conduite des magistrats qui y sont préposés. Sa sureté personnelle en dépend; parcequ'en qualité de vicaire du sultan, et de lieu-tenant général de

when he proceeds against men united with the great or powerful associations of the state, he exercises over all the dreadful power of life and death. In time of war he commands the armies, and a *caïmacam*, or lieutenant, is appointed in his stead for the home administration.

The grand vizir is the ostensible president of the *divan* or great council, which on solemn occasions is called upon to direct the sovereign by their advice. The sultan himself, though present or supposed to be present behind a curtain or latticed window, takes no active part in their deliberations.* Formerly the divan was composed, besides the grand vizir, of six officers, called *kubbe vizirs* Divan, or council of state.

l'empire, il en est responsable, et envers le souverain et envers le peuple, dont le mécontentement et les clameurs, dans des momens de disette ou de calamité publique, n'éclatent jamais que contre sa personne et son administration." (Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. 45.)

* "Dominus ipse—nullam in consilio sententiam profert, sed velo tantum discretus, quod visum adimat, aditum non interdicat, silentio consulentes observat." (Montalban. ap. Elzevir, p. 5.)

"Suleyman, qui assistoit au divan, c'est-à-dire, derrière la jalousie placée au dessus du siége du grand-vézir, entendoit tout, &c." (Tab. Gén. V. i. p. 156.)

The spirit of the customs and institutions of the Ottomans eludes the transient observation of travellers. This latticed window which conceals the grand signor while he overlooks the divan, and which is essential to the nature of the Ottoman government (ne habeant quem sequantur, vel ne revereantur imprudentes ab eo dissidere. Montalban. p. 5.), is supposed by some gentlemen, who have been admitted in the suite of an ambassador, to be there for no other reason than to give the sultan an opportunity of "gratifying an unprincely curiosity" by peeping at foreign ministers. De Tott (V. i. p. 23.) still more ridiculously asserts that he is placed there from the mutual fear of himself and his vizirs, as in that situation he can neither assassinate nor be assassinated.

from the hall in the seraglio where they usually hold their sittings: their powers were limited to sanction, though not to direct the measures of government.* Of late years the council has infringed upon the authority, but diminished the responsibility of the vizir, and has assumed a dictatorial and restrictive voice on questions of public importance.† The subordinate members of the divan are now the *capudan pasha*, or lord high admiral; the two *cazy-askers*; the grand treasurer of the empire; the second treasurer, chief of the war department; the grand purveyor; and the *nishandji effendi*, who affixes the *tughra*, or cypher of the grand signor, to public acts.‡

Mr. Eton, who could have known the grand council only previously to the infusion of aristocratical principles into its composition, describes it, however, as discussing every important act of government, and deciding by a plurality of votes. But Mr.

* The nullity of the constitutional powers of the great council may be judged of from the following passage in Ryeaut, (p. 44.) "The vizirs of the bench, because their riches are but moderate, and the office they are in treats not much with the dangerous parts of the state, live long without envy or emulation, or being subject to that inconstancy of fortune and alteration, to which greater degrees of place are exposed."

† This change in the system of government, *from which no benefit has hitherto resulted to the state*, was effected soon after the close of the last Russian war, by the triumvirate, as it was sometimes called, consisting of Raschid, the *reis effendi*, Tchelebi Effendi, minister of the war department, and Yusuf Aga, favourite and steward of the dowager empress.

‡ I do not offer this as a correct list of the cabinet ministers of the present day: they are so described in an account, printed at Constantinople, of the first audience of M. Verninac, envoy from the French republic to the Ottoman Porte in the year 1796.

Eton is predetermined that the ulema are priests, and that the interference of ecclesiastics in the affairs of government is both injurious to the subject and odious to the sovereign: In his opinion the folly of submitting to their guidance has, in no instance, appeared more disgustingly conspicuous, than in the Turkish nation; and on no scene are the mutual contentions of the sultan and the ulema carried on with more virulence than in the divan, which "as its members are swayed either by the party of the sultan, or by that of the priesthood, serves to determine the relative power of these two distinct bodies."* The cazy-askers, the only members of the ulema who have seats in the divan, are not, however, the representatives of the priesthood, but, as their name imports, the judges of the army; a dignity created by Murad the First, and after the taking of Constantinople, divided between two magistrates by Mahomet the Second. He first summoned them to assist in the deliberations of his council, which until that period had consisted only of four vizirs: but he limited their functions to that of superintending, in the presence and under the controul of the grand vizir, the judicial proceedings of his sovereign tribunal. The mufti, though head of the law and the Ottoman magistracy, never attends the divan, as it is thought derogatory to his dignity to exercise any judicial power.

The palace of the grand vizir, by a metaphor familiar to most of the Eastern languages, is called the porte, or king's

Sublime Porte, or Ottoman cabinet.

* Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 25.

gate,* and hence the Ottoman court assumes the name of the Sublime Porte in all public transactions. It has been said that this appellation is derived from the gate of the seraglio, *Bab-humaïun*; and Dr. Dallaway in some degree confirms it, by asserting that the Sublime Porte resembles a bastion.† But, though it be true that, in the east, the gate of a palace is the principal and most magnificent part of the building, and under its vestibule the princes and nobles, like the chief of a horde of Arabs at the door of his tent, exercise hospitality and administer justice; yet the inconvenience of such a situation for transacting the business of a great empire, must soon have suggested the necessity of a separate establishment for the vizir. The name of the porte was, however, continued to that part of the city to which the public business was transferred, because of the sameness of its political uses, and from its continuing to serve as the *door* of communication between the sultan and his subjects.‡ The Sublime Porte, however, so little resembles a

* "*Der*, mot persan, qui signifie porte, désigne dans tout l'orient la cour d'un prince souverain." (Tab. Gén. V. ii. p. 99.)

† See Constantinople ancient and modern, p. 20. See also a conjecture on the hundred gates of Thebes, in a note in Volney's Ruins.

The comparison indeed is unfortunate, for there is no part of fortification which the imperial gate less resembles than a bastion.

‡ Mr. Eton, though he had passed through Constantinople, appears ignorant even of *the local situation* of the palace called the porte. He says (p. 26.) "All the business of government is transacted in the seraglio: the council itself is called the divan, and the place of public audience the porte, or gate." (p. 27.) "Besides the vizir, all the other great public officers of the empire, resident at Constantinople, inhabit the seraglio, or at least have their offices there."

bastion, that it even follows the person of the sovereign; and Soliman the First, in conformity with this opinion, when at the head of his army in Persia he ordered an officer convicted of treachery to be sent to him for punishment, directed that he should be brought in irons to the porte.*

Domestic and foreign administration.

The *vizir azem*, whose most important duty is to keep the empire and capital quiet, gives public audience every day in his own divan at the porte for the administration of justice, and the decision of controversies among the grand signor's subjects. He is assisted, on certain fixed days, by the two *cazyaskers*, or by the *istambol effendi*, and the *mollas* of Eyub, Galata, and Scutari.† The *reis effendi*, among other important duties,

Mr. Griffiths, who was engaged in making observations "on the same subject and occurrences, and at the same time" as Mr. Eton, (see Travels, page 168.) differs however, in this instance, so far from him in the result of his researches, as to mistake the *porte* or gate, for the *port* or harbour. (Page 174, line 18.)

* Cantemir, p. 209.

† The constitutional power of the vizir, or that power which best harmonizes with a despotic establishment, is admirably represented by a foreign resident at the porte, during the reign of Selim the Second, (A. C. 1566—1575.) I shall not be suspected of pleading the cause of despotism when I declare it to be my opinion, (founded on events which I myself have witnessed in Turkey) that more beneficial, or rather less injurious, consequences result from its being maintained in its integrity, than when it is impeded in its progress, and checked in its exercise by institutions so foreign to its nature, as the newly created commission of *nizami djedid*; a commission which takes away the chief and only support of despotism, its promptitude and inflexibility of decision; which enfeebles the energies of government; creates an interest foreign to that of the monarch, and opens a wider field for corruption.

performs the functions of secretary of state for foreign affairs, and has subordinate to him in that department the *dragoman* of the porte, a Greek interpreter, of one of the noble families, whose next promotion is usually to the principality of Wallachia or Moldavia. All the great officers of state remain, during the day only, at the vizir's palace, and superintend the affairs of their several departments.

Those who love to represent the Turks as a horde of barbarians, living without order, without laws, and without morality, and sinking under the debilitating yoke of arbitrary power, describe the porte "as a cabinet, not under the guidance of enlightened politicians, but *a set of wretches*, continually fluctuating between the hope of amassing plunder by means of war, and enjoying it in the tranquillity of peace."* We are, however, compelled to acquit them of the absurdity of acting upon such principles; for surely no minister of state was ever so little enlightened,

" In illo imperio alia non est auris, ad quam propositiones, responsiones, et mandata, novitates omnes, quæ ex tot regnis nuntiantur, referantur. Ipse solus omnia munera, omnes gradus, officia omnia et honores imperii totius, qui nihilominus infiniti esse videntur, distribuit. Solus audit, solus consulitur, et legatis respondet solus, omnibusque regnis providet, omnaque ipse ordinat: ad postremum ab ipso cuncta civilia, criminalia, politica dependent; neque aliud quam capitis ejus consilium attenditur, attamen in tanta auctoritate, cum timore, ac summo respectu, minimam quamque rem tractat, nempe quia variabilem principis naturam suosque æmulos passis veretur.

(De Urbe Const. et. imp. Turc. relatio incerti apud Honorium. in Turc. imp. statu. ap. Elzevir, p. 133.)

* Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 108

as to renounce the solid emoluments of his office for so precarious an advantage as the booty he might acquire by war and plunder. Indeed, we know from better authority that the Turkish ministers are sufficiently sagacious, and understand so well the interests of their own country, that few can over-reach them in their treaties.* The failings they are reproached with are not peculiar to Turkish statesmen, though it be admitted that with them the preservation of their own authority is paramount to every consideration, and that to urge the interest of the empire is useless, if their personal advantage or safety be endangered by the measure.†

The frequent changes, in the higher departments, occasion very little interruption in the order of public business: the different offices are accurately and minutely subdivided: every thing is transacted with admirable conciseness, exactness, and dispatch; and the inferior officers continue unaffected by the removal of their superiors.‡

* Rycaut, p. 32.

† See Observations on the religion, &c. of the Turks, p. 120.

‡ "Ils ne connaissent point cet encombrement d'écritures, cette multitude de lettres, de placets et de requêtes, qui inondent les cabinets des ministres de l'Europe. Un simple carré de papier renferme l'ordre laconique d'un vézir, qui sanctionne ou rejette un acte. Les commis, assis-sur un sopha, les jambes croiseés, la pipe à la bouche, fument et écrivent tout à la fois. Un simple carreau leur tient lieu de table, et une petite boîte est le secrétaire où ils renferment leur papier, l'encre, et la plume de roseau dont ils se servent, et ils travaillent aussi machinalement qu'ils fument." (Pouqueville, V. ii. p. 202.)

Government of provinces.

Until the reign of Soliman the First, the sons and brothers of the reigning emperors were intrusted with the government of provinces; but the frequent rebellion of Soliman's children and the necessity he was under of punishing his fourth son Mustafa with death, occasioned him to ordain by law, that in future they should be confined in the palace, called *eski serai*, until, in the order of events, they might be called to the succession. The greater governments are now confided to the sultan's lieutenants, who are honoured with the title of *beylerbey*, or prince of princes, because they exert a superior jurisdiction, over the governments administered by the *pashas*, the *beys*, and the *sanjacs*. These different governments are distinguished by the names of *pashalik*, *mussclimlik*, *vaïvodalik* and *agalik*. Those of the greatest extent are the *pashaliks*, and *agaliks* are the smallest.* But though unequal in point of dignity, there exists no subordination between the magistrates who preside over the greater, or lesser divisions of dominion. Every governor is considered as representing the sovereign within the limits of his own jurisdiction, is invested with his authority, and exercises his prerogatives in all their plenitude. Contentious jurisdiction, the power to determine differences between the subjects, is left to the *cadi*, in conformity with the fundamental principles of Mus-

* The *agas* assume the title of *bey*, though it properly belongs to governors of a rank superior to their own. The following is the order of precedency: first the *vizir azem* or grand vizir: next to him the *pasha* of three tails, who has also the title of *vizir*; the *pasha* of two tails; the *bey* who is honoured only with one horse-tail; and the *aga*, or military governor of a district who has the *sanjak* or standard.

sulman government, and in imitation of the practice of the sultan.

Their revenues arise from certain fixed imposts on the cities, towns, and villages, of their district, in some instances levied immediately by themselves, and, in less independent governments, intermediately by officers of the sultan. Revenues of pashas:

It would be impossible exactly to describe the various means of collecting wealth, employed by governors, exercising such absolute powers. Though despotism may be more severely felt in the provinces, as redress is more difficult, yet we should hesitate before we admit the exaggerated assertion, "that the principal occupation of *every* pasha is to suck out the very vitals of his province."* The real worth of pashaliks is indeed in proportion to the number of tributary inhabitants, with respect to whom, the Turkish officers may abuse their power, and indulge their avarice, so as to extort from them all that exceeds the first wants of life.

This matter will however be best elucidated by a particular example, for which I am indebted to a gentleman who held the office of French consul at Salonica, and who has written on Turkish affairs with more truth, and more intelligence of the subject, than any author whose works I have consulted. "The pasha of Salonica," says M. Beaujour, "holds by direct tenure about twenty villages, from which he receives the tenths of their

* Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 52.

yearly produce ; this revenue he farms for about sixty or seventy thousand piastres : he collects, besides, at least an equal sum from casualties : he makes by *avanias* or extortions, a hundred thousand piastres, and if he be not a man of singular humanity, he gives even a greater extension to this branch of revenue : if he be covetous and rapacious, he absorbs the riches of the country. Mustafa Pasha, brother-in-law to the sultan, who governed Salonica in the year 1799, remitted to the sultana, his wife, a monthly pension of fifteen thousand piastres : his household establishment consisted of five hundred men, and a hundred and fifty horses, the maintenance of which must have been attended with at least an equal expense. So that the *pashalik* yielded to him a revenue of three hundred and sixty thousand piastres, (or twenty four thousand pounds sterling) without having recourse to compulsory or tyrannical measures ; for, in the opinion of the inhabitants, he was accounted humane and disinterested, which I also," continues M. Beaujour, "can affirm to be true from my own knowledge and experience of his character and conduct."*

To the Mussulman inhabitants, who are protected by the civil or military associations to which they are united, and whose

* Tableau du commerce de la Grèce, V. i. p. 47.

" Les revenus les plus réels du pacha sont des dotations, consistantes en fermes attacheés à sa place ; les réquisitions en chevaux, meubles et denrées qu'il peut exiger ; la succession des fonctionnaires publics, dont les biens retournent au sultan, en cas de mort ; l'installation des évêques, celles des *papas* (prêtres Grecs) ; enfin, les *avanies* qui sont, pour tout homme en place, une mine qui rend en raison de l'avidité et des extortions toujours impunies." (Pouqueville, V. i. p. 239.)

complaints can always reach the throne, no jurisdiction can be more mild and paternal, no government more humane.* The Turkish, as well as the tributary cultivators, pay a quit rent, in consideration of which, the Turks at least, are free and independent. No people are less oppressed, or less subject to contributions: their conduct is submitted to no controul, but that of partial and indulgent law: Their rivers, their plains, and their forests are common property; and all have the right of hunting, shooting, and fishing.

their modes of life.

The mode of life and occupations of a pasha, governor of a province, are correctly described by Dr. Pouqueville, who during his detention in the Morea as a prisoner of war, lived in the palace of the pasha of Tripolitza, and was employed as physician to his household. "They rise," he says, "at daybreak to perform their morning devotions, which are preceded by ablution. Pipes and coffee are then served. The pasha sometimes mounts his horse, and amuses himself with seeing his pages exercise the

* In the provinces the interests of the Turkish community are protected by a council composed of the *ayans*, or overseers, who are men of the greatest power and influence in the district. The word *ayan* properly signifies eyes, and denotes in a figurative manner, the duties of these public guardians; but integrity is not the distinguishing virtue of a Turk in office; and the *ayans* too frequently connive at, and even perpetrate injustice. "On appelle à ce conseil dans les affaires importantes, un ou deux vieillards de chaque orta de janissaires." "Tout Turc est ici (à Salonique) janissaire et tout janissaire est soldat." (Beaujour, V. i. pp. 48, 52.)

Chaque art, chaque métier est soumis à des loix particulières; et ceux qui les exercent forment des corporations distinctes et séparées, sous le nom d'*essnaf*. (Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. 228.)

dgerid, and sometimes he gives public audiences. He then administers justice in person, and pronounces judgment on whatever regards the public government: he imposes fines or penalties, sentences to the bastinado or the gallows, condemns or acquits, according to his pleasure; for all power is in his hands. At noon, public prayers and dinner: at three hours after mid-day, prayers again, military parade and music. He then enters his *selamlik* or drawing-room, receives visits, and amuses himself with listening to storytellers, or with laughing at the grimaces and antics of his buffoons and jesters, or with chanting verses of the koran. At sun-set prayers and supper, and afterwards pipes and coffee. An hour and a half after the close of the day he performs his fifth and concluding devotions; and immediately the military music sounds the retreat, and the whole family retires to rest."* The *agas*, at least those in Macedonia, reside in their castles, surrounded by a guard of Albanians, and live in a state of constant warfare with each other, like the ancient barons. The victorious *aga* burns the plantations of his enemy, and carries away whatever he can seize upon, his wives or his cattle. Their ravages are seldom intermitted, or their animosities suspended, except during certain festivals of their religion, which operate in the same beneficial manner, though they occur less frequently than what was formerly denominated the truce of God, the pious invention of the Chris-

* Voyages en Morée, à Constantinople, et en Albanie. V. 1. p. 53.

tian clergy to restrain the mutual contentions of the feudal nobility.*

precariousness of their offices.

All the officers of government owe their appointment to the sole favour of the sultan, without respect to birth, talents, services, or experience of business. They are deposed or punished without the liberty of complaint or remonstrance; and, at their death, the state inherits their property. Such is the constitution of arbitrary power: but the immediate appointments of the sultan must necessarily be confined within the narrow circle of his personal acquaintance, which scarcely extends beyond the limits of his palace: the nomination to offices is consequently delegated to his ministers and favourites. It is a fact of public notoriety that governments of every description are sold at the porte: they are held for the term of one year only, and at the ensuing *baïram* the leases must be renewed, or transferred to a less parsimonious competitor. In the public registers the precise value of every important post under government is recorded; and the regular remittance of the taxes and tribute is the only acknowledged criterion of upright administration. If the stipulated revenue duly enter into the coffers of government, no enquiry is made whether it has been collected by harsh or by lenient measures, whether it has been extorted by tyranny and oppression from a wretched and diminished population, or willingly contributed from the superabundance of private wealth, as a homage to virtuous administration. Hence it is that governors of distant

* See Tableau du commerce de la Grèce, V. i. p. 56.

provinces, availing of the resources of their districts, have, in frequent instances, so firmly established themselves as to resist efficaciously the right of the sovereign to eject or dispossess them. When a pasha, from a sense of his own strength or of the weakness of government, aspires to independency, he withholds the contributions due to the porte: he however negotiates while he threatens, and if the attempt fails of checking his insolence by the interposition of a *capigi bashi* as an executioner, the same officer is commissioned on the part of the sultan to confirm him in his dignity, to sanction, and even to recompense his revolt by conferring on him additional hohours. In this manner the pashas of Scutari and Yanina in Europe, and of Bagdad, and Damascus in Asia, besides several others, have made themselves independent of the porte, in one sense only, and may perhaps succeed in rendering their fiefs hereditary in their families.* This conduct which in Christendom would be called rebellion, the porte in its parental kindness considers rather as the caprice of a splenetic child. Its maxim is to yield to necessity, and to sooth the undutiful subject, instead of irritating him into avowed rebellion: but the contempt of its authority leaves an indelible impression. While they accumulate honours on the fortunate usurper, they constantly keep in view the

* Depuis le regne d'Abdul-hamid, qui est l'époque d'une plus grande accélération dans la décadence de l'empire Ottoman, les *agaliks* de la Grèce sont souvent conquis de vive force par des aventuriers Albanais. La Porte donne alors l'investiture qu'elle ne peut refuser. Quelquesuns de ces *agas* heureux ont même usurpé dans ces derniers tems des *vaivodaliks*; et à juger de leur conduite future par la manière dont ils ont débuté dans leur entreprise, il est à craindre qu'ils n'envahissent bientôt des *pachaliks*. (Beaujour, V. i. p. 12.)

heinousness of his offence; and if once his circumspection is lulled to sleep, if once he can be seduced by the allurements of ambition to abandon his strong holds, and to accept of a government of a higher order, the tardy but persevering minister of vengeance unexpectedly presents himself, and terminates his golden prospects in death.* On the invasion of Egypt by the French, the pashas of several important provinces were considered as in open rebellion against the porte, yet, though each asserted his independence, none of them refused to obey the summons of government, and to furnish their contingent of troops:† nor are they obedient in this respect only; each of them maintains at court his agent or *çapi kiahya*, through whom he regularly remits the taxes, due to the *miri*, and through whom he solicits, as a token that he has not incurred his sovereign's displeasure, the honour of being legally appointed to collect the *haratch*,

* This mode of proceeding is proverbially said by the Turks to be *hunting the hare in a waggon drawn by oxen.*

† Dr. Pouqueville, (p. 179.) in describing the preparations for war against the French in the year 1800, enumerates the reinforcements which were to be sent from the different provinces to the grand vizir's army. It is curious that in the following list he merely recapitulates those provinces, which in a preceding note (p. 176.) he had pronounced to be in rebellion.

" Le pacha de Bagdad va se soumettre, il conduit une armée levée sur les bords de l'Euphrate; le pacha de Damas, ennemi juré du nom Français, commande des forces considérables; le farouche Djezzar a rassemblé vingt mille hommes; les bords du Jourdain doivent voir tant de guerriers réunis sous les ordres du vézir suprême. La Mecque, Médine, les Arabes se sont armés et traversent la mer Rouge. Unis aux Nubiens et aux sheiks de la Haute Egypte, ils attaqueront les Français dans le Said.

or poll-tax levied on the rayahs, within his own jurisdiction. There are however some fiefs, as well in Europe as in Asia, which by original donation are hereditary in certain families. Mehemmed Bey was created by Selim the First, beylerbey of Diarbekir, and the province was given to him *malikiane*, that is, for the term of his own life, and with the privilege of transmitting it by descent to his male children. In this manner Cara Osman Oglu governs at Magnesia in Asia Minor, and the family of the Ghavrinos, who conquered Macedonia, still possess several *agaliks* in that province by virtue of similar concessions.*

It has been said, and no assertion has been more generally credited, that no sooner have they amassed property, than they are cut off by the sultan, in order to enrich his own treasury. It is however difficult to suppose that avarice, the mere desire of hoarding up treasures, can ever be the vice of an Ottoman sovereign; and it would be difficult to prove, in the whole history of the empire, that a sultan was ever actuated by such a sordid motive. It must be recollected that the *miri* or public treasury, and not the sultan, is heir to the officers of government. The sultan, whose private wealth exceeds the bounds of his caprice, is restrained from direct misapplication of the public funds, which are reserved for the exigencies of the state. The courtiers, indeed, may inflame the mind of their master against a wealthy pasha, whom they wish to supplant; but unless he

* Cantemir, p. 153. Tab. Gén. V. ii. p. 533. Beaujour, Tab. du commerce de la Grèce, V. i. p. 11.

rs in making too sparing a distribution of his presents, the courtiers and ministers of state derive more benefit from his gifts, than they could hope for from confiscation.

Mazne or sultans treasure.

It would appear, from the credulity with which the most improbable stories are received by the most sensible men, that a longer residence in a country than a traveller usually allows himself, is necessary to familiarize him with foreign customs, so as even to enable him to draw pure information from the best sources. Lord Sandwich, the posthumous publication of whose voyage round the Mediterranean is honourable to his memory, and ranks him in the first class of travellers in Turkey, has notwithstanding admitted, without hesitation, an account of the sultan's private property, which surpasses belief. " To conceive," says his Lordship, " the almost incredible value of this immense treasure, it will be necessary to figure to oneself *the vast riches of the whole series of the Greek emperors*, which, together with their capital, fell into the hands of Sultan Mahomet; as also the wealth of the many conquered provinces, annexed to the Turkish empire, besides all the magnificent presents, that have, for these many ages, been made by different sovereigns, who have been desirous of paying their court to the chiefs of this powerful monarchy: which, being daily increased by the continual forfeitures of the pashas and vizirs, must undoubtedly constitute a treasure of an inestimable value." *

* Voyage round the Mediterranean in the years 1738, and 1739. p. 175.

" Every sultan leaves what is called his treasure in the vaults of the seraglio, and

If for a moment we can credit the history of such an useless accumulation of the wealth of ages, and the spoils of the world, we must at least extend to the Greek emperors themselves, and even load with additional severity, the reproaches which Dr. Johnson so beautifully expresses against their subjects.

> " That wealth, too sacred for their country's use !
> That wealth, too pleasing to be lost for freedom !
> That wealth, which, granted to their weeping prince,
> Had rang'd embattled nations at their gates :
> But, thus reserv'd to lure the wolves of Turkey,
> Adds shame to grief, and infamy to ruin."

Reflections on the sultan's direct interference in government,

In the history of the former ages of the Ottoman empire, we find that the sultans frequently interfered in the ordinary administration of government, and generally headed their armies in person. But whatever advantages the Roman world might derive from the superintendance of such enlightened emperors, as Trajan or the Antonines, the ignorant zeal of the Turkish sultans only heightened the evils and horrors of despotism. What advantage could, indeed, be expected from the superficial enquiry, and hasty decision, of men ignorant of the first principles of justice, intoxicated with

every sultan thinks it a duty to leave as considerable a sum as he can,—they attach even a vanity to it." (Survey of the Turkish Empire, p. 52.)

" Riches,—amassed and piled up in several rooms in the seraglio, of which there have been collections and additions in the time almost of every emperor, distinguished and divided by the names of the sultans, through whose industry and frugality they had been acquired." (Rycaut, p. 36.)

absolute power, and whose ears no remonstrance against their own conduct had ever reached, except such as is faintly conveyed in the groans of miserable men? A vizir may be checked in the exertion of his delegated authority by the apprehension that truth, or calumny, may disclose, or blacken, his conduct to his master; but the will of a tyrannical monarch can only be restrained by the menaces of religion, and the dread of insurrection, which scarcely even enter into his contemplation, until announced by the approach of death, or by popular tumult. Though the sovereign, on his tribunal, be superior to any consideration of personal interest; yet the mind of a despot is not less assailable by motives foreign to the abstract merit of the cause, than that of a plebeian judge. Though he be sincere in the investigation of truth, yet the boldness of conscious integrity may to him appear shameless effrontery; the adherence to truth, obstinacy in error; and the perturbation of modesty, the confusion of guilt. Would calumniated innocence dare to exert her eloquence before such a tribunal? could she hope to smooth the angry brow, to dispel the cloud of prejudice, and to inspire the mind with candour to condemn a precipitate judgment, or to retract a hasty sentence? The despotic judge will appeal in vain for guidance to the learned and the wise. Even the ministers of religion resign the inflexibility of their virtue, and become the obsequious instruments of the will of the monarch. So, when Soliman and Peter, the legislators of Turkey and Russia, determined to put their sons to death, they found no difficulty in obtaining the fetwa of the mufti, or the sentence of the patriarch.

in administering justice,

In their eagerness to do justice, some of the wisest sultans have

been hurried into cruel and disproportioned retaliation: as Soliman the First, who not being able to apprehend some Albanians who had committed theft and murder, ordered all of that nation in Constantinople to be sought after to a man, and put to death, for the crime of their countrymen; and again, because the *molla* and *cadis* were killed at Aleppo by the populace, he sent an army, to put to death indistinctly, all the inhabitants, without enquiry after the perpetrators of the murder.* Theodosius, a wise, humane, and Christian emperor, and the republic of Athens, the most enlightened and the most liberal of nations, had precipitately authorized similar excesses. The evils of rashness are aggravated in Turkey, by the irrevocability of the sovereign's sentence. The brow of the tyrant may express, as Soliman's did to the penetration of Busbequius, the anguish of his mind: but the sultan cannot, like Theodosius, expiate criminality by public penance, or arrest it in its execution like the Athenians. Let me pay a tribute to the memory of this illustrious people. The general assembly of Athens had condemned to death, in one undistinguishing sentence, the inhabitants of Mitylene in the island of Lesbos; but a single night's reflection produced repentance and remorse: the orders for the execution were already dispatched, when the assembly resumed its sitting, to discuss the justice and propriety of its own decisions. With what ingenuousness did they confess their fault, with what eagerness did they proceed to repair it, and with what celerity was the galley dispatched to Lesbos, with the mitigated sentence? How truly great and amiable was this people! The world can pro-

* Cantemir, p. 183.

duce but this solitary instance of unforced repentance in a popular assembly. When criminality is subdivided, it is lightly felt; but every Athenian citizen acknowledged the whole guilt of this public act of injustice, in which he had concurred. Who, from such examples, would wish that absolute power should be confided to the feeble hands, and erring judgments of mortals, either separately or collectively? Rather let it riot, in the comparatively innocent luxuries of the seraglio, than aim at augmenting the happiness of a nation, by the best intended administration of government.

The sense of duty in an Ottoman sultan, may be judged of by the objects, which Soliman wished to be able to accomplish; the building of the mosque which bears his name, the reconstruction of Valens's aqueducts, and the conquest of Vienna;* objects, which in his judgment, were most highly conducive to the glory of God, the comfort of true believers, and the extirpation of false doctrine, heresy, and error. The sultan still presides, or is supposed to preside, in his own tribunal, *ghalibe divan*, which is held every Tuesday; but the whole is a harmless shadow of former usage. The affairs are of little consequence, though every thing is conducted with shew, and ceremony, and ostentation. For the edification of the people, and as a convincing proof that the grand signor interests himself in the concerns of his subjects, the vizir is frequently summoned during the course of a trial to attend his sovereign, and receive his instructions, as to the sentence. At the beginning of a reign, to impress his good city of Constantinople

* Busbeq. Epist. p. 264.

with a favourable opinion of their new monarch, some human sacrifices are constantly offered. Sometimes a Mussulman, invested with an office of emolument, who may have formerly incurred the displeasure of some of the new favourites, is brought forward, accused by his sovereign of malversation, and beheaded in his presence: or more frequently an infidel, who by wearing slippers of a forbidden colour, is presumed to have usurped the privileges of the Mussulman people, is punished with death, and trampled upon for three days in the public street.

in conducting war.

When the sultans headed their armies, the fruits of the earth failed, and the face of nature withered at their approach. Busbequius had traversed the conquests of Soliman: "the corn," says he, "which such a calamity has depressed, will never again rear its head."* Their voice was the voice of desolation; their language, extermination and death. "The city," said the agonizing Sultan, with heart-felt regret, "the city whose hearth is to be extinguished, is not yet taken:" and, on his death bed, he devoutly addresses "the God of all worlds, the sovereign and lord of all creatures, to have pity on the host of the faithful, and graciously assist them, in accomplishing"—this work of hell.† According to their belief, no war should be undertaken without a just cause; but the propagation of the faith was the broad mantle, which covered, from themselves, every unjust and dishonourable motive. Hence their wars have all had the character of religious wars, and

* Busbeq. de re mil. cont. Tur. instit. consilium, p. 273.

† Cantemir, p. 215.

they rushed out, glowing with a holy zeal, to murder the aged parent, and the helpless infant; but reserved their mercy for the tender ma ens, who, as vessels which had providentially escaped contamina on, were capable of being applied to holy purposes. To the noble feelings of sovereigns on these glorious occasions, we are to attribute the murderings of Jenghiz Khan, and the comparative clemency of Tamerlane. The warrior is indeed placed between heroism and crime, and the best conquerors hold but a middle rank between cruelty and justice. We may be shocked at the severities exercised by them, yet since the world has agreed to worship conquerors, we are wrong in imputing to them the evils inseparable from war, and expecting from them the mild virtues of Numa Pompilius. Let us not, however, regret, that, since the decline of the military spirit among the Turks, their sovereigns, somewhat less enamoured than formerly of the glories of warfare, have sacrificed their fame to their repose, and sunk into insignificance in the voluptuous gratifications of the harem.

The Turks, indulgent to the follies, the vices, and even the crimes of their sultans, are nevertheless severe in arraigning the conduct of those, whom they consider as too much addicted to the pleasures of the chace. I am at a loss to account for an intolerance so singular and so little agreeable to reason, unless perhaps it owes its origin to one of the popular sayings, which are familiarly and generally used in ordinary conversation among the Turks, as among all the eastern nations, although, in many instances, their authority is owing rather to a certain alliteration or a jingle of syllables, than to the shrewdness or profoundness of the thought

which they infold. "He that kills a sportsman or a gamester," says the proverb, "shall be accounted a hero:" and assuming this as an irrefragable truth, the ulema, when they were put forward to foment rebellion against the unfortunate Mahomet the Fourth, represented to the people that the divine wrath against the Ottoman nation was manifest, since the sultan was become so infatuated, as to suppose that the bounds of the Ottoman empire, which had been extended by the labours and the blood of so many Mussulmans, could be defended by hounds and falcons.*

Subjection of the people.

In the opinion of Mussulmans, the law of the Koran is no less binding on the prince than on the meanest of his people. While this law is religiously observed, and history furnishes no instance of its infringement in any essential point, the devotion of the subject corresponds with the unlimited authority of the monarch: every one acknowledges obedience to the absolute power of the sultan, and every one practises it. The rebellion of pashas, as has been shewn, is not an abnegation of the sultan's authority; for they always name him with reverence and obey his commands, except when he requires the resignation of their own power, or the weakening of their own stability: their revolt affects only the ministers and courtiers, who indeed suffer by the independence of a pasha, as they are thereby deprived of their dues of office, and the annual presents which they are entitled to on every new appointment. Submission to the sultan, both as spiritual and temporal chief, is universal in theory, but from the remoteness

* Cantemir, p. 337.

and indistinctness of its proper object, it is naturally transferred to more immediate superiors. Yet we have seen the body-guard of an usurper stopped in the act of taking vengeance on an assassin, by his producing the sultan's mandate for the execution of their master. Armed with this alone, he gains admission into the household, or insinuates himself into the confidence, of a rebel. Relying on no other protection, he disregards the fierce aspect of his myrmidons, and their professions of inviolable attachment: he singles out his object from the midst of them, he aims his blow, and, if it be well directed, the baseless structure of power is in one instant demolished, and the current of popular loyalty, no longer obstructed, re-assumes its legitimate direction. I have heard that the officers of the sultan proceeding on such commissions, have been detected, and have themselves undergone the punishment which they were ordered to inflict: but I recollect no instance of any one having suffered from the effects of resentment after the accomplishment of his errand: like the children of the Spartans, they are punished only for the failure of their stratagems.

The enthusiasm of loyalty may have prompted individuals to romantic proofs of their attachment to the person of their sovereign; but I do not dare to confirm the assertion of Rycaut, that they carry their obedience to such an extreme, as to perform whatsoever the sultan signifies to be his pleasure, "though he command whole armies of them to precipitate themselves from a rock, or build a bridge with piles of their bodies for him to

pass rivers, or to kill one another to afford him pastime and pleasure."*

The education of young men in the seraglio is represented as the systematic warping of the mind, to the principles of slavery; and, as it is asserted, that young men so educated are destined to fill the highest posts of honour, and to undertake the government of provinces, it is concluded, that the prejudice of absolute resignation to the will of the sultan is by their means universally diffused throughout the empire. †

This however is erroneous; for, comparatively speaking, few are selected from among the pages to fill these important situations. Young men, whose chief recommendation in the first instance is their personal comeliness, are admitted into the colleges of the *ichoglans*, of which one is within the walls of the imperial palace, and the other, called *Galata seraï*, is in the suburb of Pera. They are educated under the care of masters appointed by the chief of the white eunuchs, *capi aga*, at the private expence of the sultan:

* I do not know whether Rycaut is to be understood as asserting, in the following passage, that he himself had witnessed such extravagancies; but whatever construction it may bear, my opinion as to the fact in question remains the same. "Je ne crois pas même les témoins oculaires, quand ils me disent des choses que le sens commun désavoue."

"They that have been where they have *seen* and *known* the manner of this blind obedience, may well cry out, O homines ad servitutem paratos!" (Present state of the Ottoman empire, p. 9.)

† Rycaut, Present state of the Ottoman Empire, Chap. iii—v.

but the object of the institution is not to prepare men for holding the highest offices of the state, but merely to educate pages for the service of the court.

The greatest number of them never quit the seraglio, and some even grow grey in the colleges. Their education is suitable to their future destination, that of a Turkish courtier: they are taught to please by the graces of their person and manners, and the politeness of their conversation and diction: passive obedience is the lesson which is constantly inculcated, and such severe chastisement is inflicted for the commission of the slightest fault, that he who has passed through the several degrees, may be truly said to have his passions mortified, and his manners moulded to slavery. The highest dignity in the seraglio to which they can attain is that of *coltuk vizir*, a compound word, which denotes both their actual privilege of supporting the sultan under the arm, and assisting him when he mounts on horseback, and also indicates, by anticipation, the rank which they are entitled to hold on their being dismissed from attendance on the emperor's person. Only the pages, who by merit or favour and by length of services have arrived at the dignity of *coltuk vizir*, have a prospect of being raised on vacancies to the post of pasha of three tails: but though, when they quit the court, they have as much power in their respective pashaliks as other governors, yet they are distinguished by an opprobrious appellation, expressive of their want of experience in civil and military affairs, from those who have raised themselves by their courage and implied virtues.

The national education, or rather the national manners, by no means inculcate a slavish disposition. The Ottoman government is in its exercise, a military aristocracy, where every Mussulman imbibes some portion of the haughtiness of the military character with respect to those who are deprived of the use of arms, but is courtly and civil to his comrades, and obedient and respectful to his superiors. Accordingly we distinguish in the Turks the leading features of aristocracy, "pride in their port, defiance in their eye," but candour in their character, and generosity in their conduct. The disposition of mind generated by aristocracy is unquestionably preferable to that produced by slavish habits; and on the most superficial view, as well as on a more intimate acquaintance with the various classes of men who acknowledge the authority of the Ottoman sultans, we cannot hesitate in assenting to the truth of the remark that the Turks are the best people in their empire.* The Mussulman law divides into two classes all the inhabitants of the earth: those who profess the faith of Mahomet, are called without distinction of rites, sects, heresies, or opinions, by the general name of *musslim*, an arabic word signifying a person resigned to God; the dual of which is *musulman*, and the plural *muslimim*: the nations who deny the divine mission, and reject the doctrine, of the prophet are confounded under the common denomination of *keafir*, infidel or blasphemer, a wretch wandering in darkness, whose eyes are shut to the light of revelation. Thus all infidels form but one and the same people. The inhabitants of the Ottoman empire and the nations by which they are surrounded, are,

Political, civil, and religious distinctions.

* See Observations on the religion, laws, &c. of the Turks, p. 79.

however, discriminated with greater accuracy : the infidels subject to their dominion and paying the capitation tax, whether Christians, Jews, or Pagans, are called *zimmys* : strangers, who, relying on the faith of treaties and the acknowledged laws of nations, either pass through their territories or reside within the empire are called *musteeminns*, (men who have solicited mercy) : it is however presumable that such expressions are not meant to convey insult to foreign nations, as they are also applied to Mussulmans travelling beyond the empire or settled abroad : nations unconnected by treaty, or in actual hostility with the Ottoman porte, are described under the common denomination of *harby*, a word derived from *harb*, which signifies war. These expressions which it must be confessed are harsh and unbecoming, are to be attributed rather to the primitive Mussulmans, from whom they were borrowed, than to the Ottomans themselves, although the Turks, in common with all nations professing the same faith, still adhere to the use of them. The etymology and true meaning of the terms are unknown to the greatest part of the people ; and it should be perhaps recollected, in extenuation of the conduct of the Turks in this respect, that modes of expression scarcely less offensive have prevailed among the people whom we are taught to admire and to reverence, who distinguished, with no less pride than the Turks themselves, between Greeks and Barbarians, Jews and Gentiles. The Turkish national appellation is *osmanli*, which we translate Ottoman : the word Turk is not unknown to them, but is applied only to persons of rustic and uncivilized manners. A *rayah* is an Ottoman subject of any nation, liable to the *haratch* or capitation tax : the

Turkish peasantry are properly comprehended under the general name of *rayahs*, though in the modern and more common acceptation of the word, it is restricted to that class of subjects whom the law denominates *zimmys*. *Ghiaour* is the opprobrious expression which the Turks address to infidels; but the word appears to have been originally *guebre*, or worshipper of fire. The Persian heretics are distinguished from the *sunni*, (or orthodox) by the name of *schiys*, a name odious to the Turks, as they are taught to believe it to be more meritorious in the sight of God, to kill in war a single Persian, than seventy infidels of any other religion.*

Means of redress against tyranny and oppression.

When the inhabitants of a city or a province are dissatisfied with the pasha, they present their complaints at the porte in a memorial or petition, called *arz mahzar*: but unless they accompany it with a larger sum than the pasha finds it convenient to give for his re-appointment, they seldom succeed in their application for his removal. Contestations of this public nature, as well as those between private individuals, are determined, not by the evidence of facts or the force of arguments, but by the specific quantity of gold which either party can produce in support of his cause. In the capital, inaccessible as the sultan personally is to the complaints of his people (since all memorials on what business soever ought first to pass through the hands of the grand

* "Alia res est, inquit Rustanus. Nos enim ne sis nescius, magis aversamur Persas, magis profanos habemus quam vos Christianos." (Busbeq. Epist. iii. p. 126.)

vizir,) his attention is notwithstanding sometimes aroused by the clamours, and other unequivocal proceedings of his turbulent subjects. In his passage to the mosque every Friday, he receives, through the hands of one of his attendants, whatever petitions are presented to him. It was in this manner that M. de Villelongue succeeded in delivering into the hands of Sultan Ahmed an accusation, in the name of Charles the Twelfth, against the vizir and the principal ministers of state, which was supposed to have effected the complete change in the Turkish cabinet, which soon after took place. Rycaut mentions a method of appeal to the grand signor which ancient custom had tolerated, but which I apprehend is now disused, as I never heard of its being practised. "The aggrieved person," he says, "putting fire on his head, enters the seraglio, runs in haste, and can be stopped by nobody until he comes to the presence of the grand signor, to whom he has licence to declare his wrong."* The method which is most commonly adopted, and which I have seen followed up with the most persevering obstinacy, is to set fire to different parts of the city: when it is discovered from their frequency that these fires are not accidental, the sultan feels alarm, enquires into the cause of the public discontent, discovers it through his emissaries from public conversation, and is ultimately compelled to yield to the wishes of the factious. Insurrection is the misfortune to which unlimited power is most subject: it is frequently the work of an instant, the produce of accident; but when once

* Present state of the Ottoman empire, p. 46.

excited, it seldom stop at the redress of grievances; the insurgents must be subdued by force, or the monarch must descend from his throne: happy if he may be allowed to wear out the remainder of his days in the vacant prison of his successor.

CHAPTER IV.

ADMINISTRATION OF CIVIL AND CRIMINAL LAW.

Practice of the courts of law.—Administration of civil law.—Mehh-kémé or tribunal.—False witnesses.—Inaccuracy of investigation.—Privilege of Europeans.—Avania.—Proceedings in criminal cases.—Torture.

Practice of the courts of law.

It has been asserted that "it is the general characteristic of the Turkish government to be loaded with forms and regulations, which are of no effectual service." How little this censure is applicable to the Turkish courts of law, is evident from the simplicity with which law-suits are conducted in the *divan haneh*, or vizir's tribunal. Before the vizir takes his seat, all the parties assembled in court are ranged in two rows, with a *chaoush* at their head. The trial begins by reading the case of the plaintiff who is first in order of precedence; after which, both parties are publicly heard; a proper officer of the court briefly sums up the whole matter, and declares what sentence, according to the divine judgment, ought to be passed. If the vizir approves the sentence, it is inserted in

the vacant space of the *arzuhal* (or petition), and is confirmed by the vizir's signature. The *arzuhal* itself, be the case ever so intricate, must be comprised in about half a page, in order that room may be left on the other half, for inserting the substance of the consultation on the subject, and the *ilam* (or sentence) of the judge. During the examination of one case, the parties and papers, necessary for elucidating the next in order, are put in a state of preparation; so that a new cause immediately commences; and so on until all are dispatched. An *oda* (or company) of janizaries is appointed to guard the vizir's palace; and they are employed to bring accused persons into court, and to watch over the prisoners. They are called *muhzur*, from their office, and the nature of it may be judged of from the form of a citation. "Go," says the *muhzur aga*, "and order such a person immediately to appear; if he hesitate to obey the summons, cleave him through the head and the eyes, and produce him in that state."

Administration of civil law.

It is erroneous to suppose "that the judges are not bound by any preceding decrees, but that they have the application of the law in their own breasts," for on the contrary the code *multeka*, ever since the period of its compilation in the reign of Soliman the First, is almost the only book made use of by the *cazy-askers*, the *mollas*, the *cadis*, and the *naibs*, in all the tribunals and courts of law throughout the whole extent of the Ottoman empire. It is expressly enjoined to the *cadis*, in the sultan's diploma which invests them with their judicial powers, to follow the most prevailing opinions of the *Imams Hanefys* in the administration of justice; and although the instructions given to the *mollas* are not so ex-

plicit in this respect, they are nevertheless restricted to the observance of the same rule in their practice. Sir James Porter says "it is not the Turkish laws, but a corrupt administration of them, which brings opprobrium on the empire." But the most necessary laws, and without which any code is defective, are those which provide for, and secure an upright administration. In Turkey the laws indeed are simple, and by no means numerous; and the forms are little complicated. Their administration, however, differs according to the circumstances of the parties, or their rank in a political point of view. The Turk has rarely to complain of injustice; and, generally speaking, the decision of the judges in causes wherein both parties are Mussulmans is unbiassed. Public opinion, which is no where more free or more energetic than among the Turks, checks the voluntary commission of any injustice with respect to them. I have seen the *cazy-asker* in his own tribunal, abused by women, with a licence, which nothing could equal, but the patience and submission with which he bore it, while the inferior officers were endeavouring to pacify them, and gently get them out of the court.

In Constantinople every district has its *mehhkémé*,* in which a *cadi*, attended by his *naïb*, sits, and hears causes. These magistrates, as well as those of the superior classes, hear and determine all causes, civil and criminal. They also take cognizance of whatever relates to ecclesiastical dogmas, rites, morality, or discipline

Mehhkémé or tribunal.

* *Mehhkémé*, the name of the Turkish tribunals, is derived from the word *hakim*, and it signifies the sanctuary of justice.

They judge all suits respecting the *vacufs* (or church possessions) within their respective jurisdictions. They perform moreover all the functions of a public notary; and they legalize and register marriage-contracts, powers of attorney, wills, and covenants of every kind.

Nothing can be more simple and expeditious than the forms of proceeding in all the Turkish courts. Each party represents his case, unassisted by counsellors, advocates, or pleaders of any kind, and supports his statement by the production of evidence. The deposition of two competent witnesses is admitted as complete legal proof, in all cases whatever, whether concerning property, reputation, or life.

The *fetwa* in civil causes should be considered, rather as the opinion of counsel on a case, than the sentence of a judge. I once saw a *fetwa* produced by the plaintiff on a trial, while I was attending at the house of a magistrate. He read it with great respect, and commended the justness of it; but "I am mufti here," said he, and placing it under the cushion on which he sat, determined the cause, without any appeal or reference to it.* Another opinion of the mufti, as I was told, was produced in court, in a case in point, and the person appealing to it, said, "such is the will of God." "Be it so," said the cadi, "but if the will of God were to be always observed, the world would stand still."

* It must be observed, that the *muftis*, or doctors of the law, occupy only the second rank in the Musulman hierarchy. In every city of the Ottoman empire, with the exception of the capital alone, they yield the precedence to the cadis or judges.

The Christian and Jewish subjects of the empire are an inexhaustible treasure to government and to individuals. From this source a tribe of extortioners, false witnesses, pleaders, and embroilers, all who are too idle to dig, and too proud to beg, draw, without the imputation of infamy, the means of subsistence. It is impossible to conceive an idea of the effrontery of the false witnesses, who are encouraged by impunity.* The vizir alone can punish them: the other magistrates are compelled to pronounce according to their deposition, unless they can detect them in duplicity, or embarrass them by their questions. False witnesses

The executors of a person under the English protection claimed from a certain sultana the payment of a sum of money, in virtue of a written obligation certifying the loan.† The defendant denied the debt, alledging that she had paid the principal before the decease of the claimant; but that he had detained the notes and pledges, with a view of compelling her to pay interest, which she had resisted, on the ground of its being contrary to the divine

* The punishment appointed for a false witness is only the shame of being led through the streets seated upon an ass with his face towards the animal's tail. But even this punishment, which cannot be supposed to have much effect upon such abandoned profligates, is scarcely ever put in execution.

Busbequius supposed that the Turkish false evidences were actuated only by hatred against Christians. "Turcæ magnæ pietatis loco ducunt dicere falsum testimonium adversus hominem Christianum. Non expectant ut rogentur; injussi adsunt, seque ultro ingerunt." (Epist. iv. p. 227.)

† Among the Mahometans written testimony is of no avail, when opposed by living witnesses. But the treaties with all the Christian powers set aside this law in favour of their subjects, who are accordingly allowed to support their claims by written evidence.

law. Her witnesses asserted, that the money had been paid to the deceased in their presence: the judge affected to give credit to their testimony, and urged to the plaintiffs the necessity of admitting so clear a proof; but, suddenly turning to the witnesses, "What," said he, "was the name of the deceased merchant's father?" The abruptness of the question threw them off their guard, and they confessed they could not tell. "Not tell," said the judge, "how then can you expect that I shall admit your evidence?" and immediately ordered an *ilam* in favour of the plaintiff.

The judge was indeed authorized by the usage of the Turks to require the witnesses knowledge of such particulars; for as they have not among them surnames or family distinctions, it becomes necessary, in order to prevent confusion, to insert in a contract or official instrument not only the names of the parties, but also those of their parents. I have heard it asserted, that the judge is supposed to invalidate the testimony of a witness, if he can put to him any question whatever relating to the business in discussion, which the latter is found unable to reply to. In the case which I have related, the judge had been *preconvinced* of the futility of the defence, or he would not so readily have determined upon the case.

Peyssonel, in his zeal to vindicate the Turks, attempts even to excuse their toleration of false witnesses. "Testimony," he says, "is the basis of all proceedings in criminal affairs, and is of great weight in civil affairs. Among all people, unfortunately, false witnesses are every where too numerous." But it is in Turkey

alone that the *profession* is avowed, and the individual personally known in every tribunal. The prompt decision of the Turkish tribunals has been praised by men, who may have observed, that patience and property are frequently absorbed by the forms, delays, and expences, attending law-suits in Christian countries; but who have not reflected, that where injustice is authorized, promptitude of decision only assimilates it the more to an act of violence. Some idea may be formed of the precipitancy with which law-suits are determined in Turkey, by the following instance. Cantemir, in commendation of the vizir Chorluly Ali Pasha, with whom he was personally acquainted, says that "when he was sitting in the divan no one could behold him without admiration; for he was a person of so much quickness and dexterity, that he could attend to three things at once, as if he had divided himself into three parts. For the quicker dispatch of business, he ordered two petitions to be read at the same time, and understood each cause as perfectly as if he had heard it three or four times, giving thereupon a suitable sentence. In the mean time he hearkened to others that were pleading before the *cazy-asker*, and delivering back the *arzuhal* to him, told him what sentence he was to give. He was so great a lover of justice, that many affirm he never gave an unjust sentence."* The European merchant, obliged to appeal to the laws of the country, is, equally with the rayah, exposed to the consequences of their venal administration, and must hope for success, not from the justice of his cause, but from undue influence, or from bribery. Hence their aversion from carrying their dis-

Inaccuracy of investigation.

* Cantemir's Ottoman History, p. 446, note.

putes before the judges, and hence also credit and confidence, the bases of commerce, are undermined and destroyed.*

Privilege of Europeans.

In civil causes, the Europeans, in virtue of the capitulations, pay three per cent. on the amount of the sum which constitutes their claim: the subjects of the country pay ten per cent. But, as the gainer pays the costs of suit, in order that the judge may not lose his fees, the privilege granted to the European is in fact a disadvantage. The evil consequences of the gainer being burthened with the expences of a law-suit, besides the injustice of such a mode of satisfying the court, are evident. A Turk will institute a vexatious suit against a rayah, in which he risks nothing, and may eventually avail himself of all the uncertainty of the law: the rayah is placed in a dilemma, from which he cannot escape without injury: he may be unsuccessful in his suit; and the least disadvantage he can hope for, is the payment of the costs; so that in most cases, he finds it expedient to compound the business. I knew a person, against whom an annual claim was made for a room in the upper part of a house, which he had built himself. He had bought off the first action; and this concession was construed, by the opposite party, into an acknowledgment of his right, and the rayah was subjected, in consequence of it, to the payment

Avania.

* A *fetwa* extracted by the Chevalier D'Ohsson from the collection, published by the Mufti Behhdje Abd'ullah effendy, will shew how precarious are the means which an European can employ to obtain justice in Turkey.

"If Zeid, a stranger in a Mussulman country, having a law-suit with Amr, offers in favour of his cause the evidence of Bekir and Beschir, both of them strangers, can their depositions be received in justice?—Answer. No." (Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. 526.)

of a tribute till his death. This species of robbery, which constitutes the chief riches of the Turkish populace in the great cities, is distinguished by the name of *avania.* The law indeed is equal, and, in the true spirit of it, extends the same protection to the believer and the infidel; but, in its administration, *the household of faith* enjoys peculiar privileges.* The testimony of a Mussulman outweighs the clearest proof which a rayah can adduce,† and a conviction of perjury, which entails severe, if not capital, punishment on the one, procures for the other, but a gentle admonition to combine circumstances with less confusion in future. Although capital executions are frequent in Turkey, criminal justice can scarcely be said to be administered at all. The life of man, concerning which no deliberation can be too long, is hastily sentenced away, without reflection, according to the influence of passion, or

Proceedings in criminal cases.

* The Mahometans themselves seldom seek legal redress for an insult. If not able to take revenge with their own hand, they quietly submit to the oppression. Much less can a stranger expect justice: for, even if the judge were disposed to sacrifice his national prejudices to the duty of his office, the suffering party is induced by secret insinuations, and indirect menaces, to abandon his suit, and prefer suffering in silence.

† The superior validity of a Mussulman's testimony will be more evident from the following examples. The emperor, Bajazet the First, who was much addicted to wine and debauchery, submitted to a reprimand from the *cadi* of Brusa, who refused to admit his evidence, because he neglected to perform the five daily prayers in common with the faithful.

" Les Musulmans non-circoncis semblent porter une sorte de réprobation aux yeux des autres Musulmans. On les appelle *aklef*, et dans différentes matières, soit civiles, soit criminelles, leur témoignage n'est jamais recevable." (Tab. Gén. V. ii. p. 287.)

Such defects, which can invalidate the testimony of a Mussulman, must necessarily operate with much greater force against that of a Christian, who lives habitually and constantly in a state of reprobation.

the impulse of the moment. A complaint was preferred to the vizir, against some soldiers, who had insulted the gentlemen of the Russian embassy: the vizir made a horizontal motion with his hand, and before the conference was over, seven heads were rolled from a sack at the feet of prince Repnin.* A man, caught in the act of pilfering property during a fire, has been thrown into the flames by order of the vizir.† A housebreaker, detected in robbery, is hanged up, without process, at the door of the house he has robbed. Shopkeepers, or dealers, convicted of using false weights or measures, are fined, bastinadoed, or nailed by the ear to their own door-posts: but punishment is frequently inflicted on the innocent, while the guilty enjoy the fruits of criminality. A Swedish gentleman of my acquaintance, walking one day in the streets of Constantinople, saw the body of an Armenian, hanging in the front of a baker's shop. He inquired of a by-stander, for what crime the poor wretch had suffered. "The vizir," said he, "in passing by early in the morning, stopped and ordered the loaves to be weighed; and finding them short of weight, immediately ordered the execution of the person in the shop." "Good God," said the Swede, "how severe a punishment for so slight a crime!" "It

* See Voyage à Constantinople, p. 166.—I give this story on the credit of a French gentleman, whom I saw at Constantinople, but whose name I have in vain endeavoured to recollect. He travelled in company with Emile Gaudin, who afterwards officiated as secretary to the council of five hundred in the memorable sitting at St. Cloud. I have also heard other instances of similar atrocities.

† De Tott (p. 20,) ridiculously says that "they consider this death as little different from dying in their beds, because they often see a multitude of unhappy wretches perish accidentally in the same manner."

was thought severe," replied the Turk, "for the Christian was but a servant, whose wages were twenty *paras* a day, and whose master derived the whole benefit from the deficiency in the weight of the bread." And yet other Armenians had already occupied the vacant place, and were serving the customers with the greatest indifference. In September, 1792, the Greeks, who had been taken on board Lambro's squadron in the Archipelago, were brought to Constantinople, and several of them were hanged on the yard-arms, or under the bowsprits, of the prizes. Others were detained a few days in prison, and at length led out, and separately executed, at the corners of different streets in Constantinople. A person, who was accidentally present, told me, that they were driven along by the Turks, with the most unfeeling barbarity: by a push on the back the criminal fell on his knees, with one stroke of a knife his head was cut off, the body fell forward, the head was thrown between the legs, and the executioner passed on, to inflict the same punishment on the others. A prisoner in the bagnio, during the last Russian war, was witness to the execution of two Turks, who for some crime had been condemned to die. The order for their death was concealed from them, the gaoler congratulated them on their deliverance: "Go," said he to one of them, "thank God you are free." And as the man stooped to pass through a low door, a cord was thrown about his neck, and he was instantly strangled. The other was told to sit down, that his irons might be knocked off; and was strangled, while the smith was performing the work.*

* See the account of the revolution at Constantinople in the year 1730, published in Lord Sandwich's Tour, which bears every mark of authenticity and correctness.

Laws for preventing the abuse of authority in parents or masters, and the exertion of individual revenge, either do not exist in Turkey, or are slightly enforced, and easily evaded. "Murder," says Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, "is never pursued with the king's officers, as with us. 'Tis the business of the next relations to revenge the dead person; and if they like better to compound the matter for money (as they generally do) there is no more said of it." It is indeed true that the robber and the murderer, although when detected in the commission of the crime, they are hanged up, or shot, or impaled without mercy; yet, if they escape the first fury of pursuit, or wish to retreat with their earnings into society, they are readmitted without difficulty, and almost without a reflection on their past conduct.

A Greek *calpha* (or builder) in the service of the present sultan, died in the month of June, 1792, leaving about twenty thousand pounds sterling, which he had amassed during his continuance in employment. His effects were seized by government, as is usual, on the supposition of their having been gained in its service. His widow, reduced from affluence, in the first transports of her grief, accused her son of the murder of his father. The young man had intrigued with a servant girl of the family, and would have married her; but the father, to prevent it, had dismissed her from his service. Upon his mother's accusation, he was imprisoned, and would have suffered; but the mother's tenderness awoke, and her

The same illusory method of proceeding was employed to take away the lives of the chief courtiers, who were obnoxious to the rebels.

conscience was alarmed: she threw herself at the feet of the judge, retracted all she had before said, accused herself of precipitancy, occasioned by grief for the sudden death of her husband, and now as strongly asserted her son's innocence. The judge, however, was hard to be convinced: he had his doubts and scruples, which there remained but one mode of dispelling. The remains of her husband's fortune, which her prudence had preserved from the vigilance of government, afforded the only hope of carrying home conviction to the breast of the conscientious judge; and the sacrifice of two thousand pounds was the great engine for reversing the decree.

Torture is secretly, but not unfrequently, practised. The motive for inflicting it is generally to extort the confession of concealed property; and the scene of these inhuman proceedings, is a building within the walls of the Seraglio, called the Oven, because it was formerly used as such by the *bostangis*. The rich rayahs are frequently employed as bankers to the vizir and other great officers of state, a charge hazardous at best, and not unfrequently fatal; for though the advantages of it are great, and the influence it procures, flattering to vain or ambitious men; yet they are exposed to the prying eyes of a suspicious court, and usually are involved in the ruin of their employer. The minister, knowing how uncertain is his continuance in office, and apprehensive that his riches will be swallowed up in his disgrace, secretly lodges money with some confidential person, from whom, through caution, he takes no written acknowledgment. This he keeps in reserve against the evil hour, or should his life terminate with his office, directs Torture.

the disposal of it to those, for whom no provision can legally be made. Therefore, at the deposition of a public minister, his bankers, and others suspected of intimacy with him, are applied to for the delivery of all they possess in his name. If the sum fall short of expectation, they are tortured, till they either confess they have more, or supply the sum required from their own capitals. But, if they are rich, even this confession does not always save their lives. I was acquainted with an Armenian, who had been confined and tortured into the renunciation of all his hereditary and acquired property.* His partner, more resolute, had resisted, to death, all the horrible means employed to force him to a confession, and thereby left his family in affluence. I have listened with horror to the relation of their sufferings, which were aggravated by the constant presence of the executioner, who would insultingly complain of the fatigue of his mornings duty, and exact from them the most menial services, and at every repast dip into the same dish with them, his hand reeking with their blood.

* This was Couléli, banker to Racub Pasha, whose sufferings are mentioned by De Tott, p. 187.

CHAPTER V.

MILITARY FORCE OF THE OTTOMANS.

Military divisions of the empire.—Feudal system of the Ottomans.—Ziamets and timars.—Janizaries.—Agemoglans.—Other bodies of infantry receiving pay from the Porte;—topgis,—gebegis,—sakkas.—Cavalry receiving pay from the Porte.—Serratculy or troops receiving pay from the pashas.—Order of encampment.—Tents and camp-equipage.—Method of supplying the army with provisions.—Order of march and battle.—Modes of fighting,—and of defending their fortresses.—Recapitulation. Turkish laws of war.—Treatment of prisoners.—Turkish navy.

Military divisions of the empire.

THE military establishment of the Turkish empire is an extensive militia, which was exceedingly formidable before standing armies were introduced among other nations, and when the constant practice of war had inured the Ottomans to hardships, taught them discipline, and familiarized them with danger. Their maintenance was provided for by a suitable allotment of land, according to the feudal system. The empire was divided

into the great and lesser *pashaliks*, whose governors united the military with the administrative powers.

The *beylerbeys*, considered as military commanders, were subordinate only to the vizir. The *pashas*, according to their dignity and the extent of their districts, summoned to their standards the *beys* and the *agas*, possessors of lordships under the names of *ziamet* and *timar*; besides whom, there was generally a crowd of needy or fanatical adventurers, who repaired to the place of rendezvous, equipped and armed according to their means or their fancy.*

Feudal system of the Ottomans.

The feudal system, as established in Turkey, though it resembled in its leading features that which was introduced in all those parts of Europe where the Northern nations settled themselves, was in several particulars essentially different from it. In those countries the victorious chief assigned to his principal officers extensive tracts of land, which they subdivided among their inferior officers, and they again to the soldiers; each superior exacting from his immediate vassal the same fealty, by which he had bound himself to his own immediate superior, whether the sovereign or a mesne lord. Hence arose the great power of the barons, in whose defence, or at whose instigation their subordinate vassals have sometimes taken up arms, in opposition

* A pashalik is divided, as to the military part, into districts called *sanjacs*. The *sanjac bey* assembles the janizaries, spahis, zaims, and timariots, of his jurisdiction, and waits the orders of the pasha.

to, or in defiance of, the authority of their common sovereign. In Turkey all the land is held immediately from the sultan, and all grants, on the demise of the incumbent, vest anew in him. The reciprocal feudal obligations, which confirmed and cemented the relations between the nobles and their vassals, are there unknown: so that between the pashas and the inferior feudal proprietors, there exists no tie of generosity and benevolence on the one hand, or of gratitude and affection on the other; and though there be indeed subordination of rank, there is no concatenation of dependence. When inconveniences were felt from the abuse of the power of the lords, and the oppressed vassals, though they obeyed the summons to the field, yet were indifferent and even hostile to the cause they were engaged in, a remedy was adopted in several European states, by making the fiefs hereditary, and taxing the lands with the condition of furnishing a certain number of soldiers, armed and equipped; so that a numerous and powerful army was instantly assembled, and at once ready for action. In this æra of the feudal history, when knight-service was introduced, the system more resembled that of Turkey, except that there the grants always continued precarious, and dependent on the pleasure of the sultan, as universal proprietor. Vassalage, properly speaking, did not exist, as all were equally crown-vassals; and from their being independent of each other, they never could form a counterpoise to the power of the sovereign.*

* Ces gouvernemens ne sont point distribués hiérarchiquement, mais ils sontindépendans les uns des autres. (Beaujour. Tab. du commerce de la Grèce. V. i. p. 10.)

Ziamets and timars.

On the conquest of a country the most powerful among the ancient inhabitants either fled, or were removed by death from giving umbrage or jealousy to their new masters: a new race of Turkish colonists supplied their places, and exacted the services and received the homage of the conquered people. The lands of these newly created *ziamets* and *timars* were cultivated by the rayahs, who paid to the lord of the manor, as the rent of their farms, the tenths of the produce and the increase of their stock. To the people of Europe, who were groaning under the tyranny and rapacity of the nobles, such terms appeared advantageous, and such servitude light. "I have seen," says a contemporary writer, "multitudes of Hungarian rustics set fire to their cottages, and fly with their wives and children, their cattle and instruments of labour, to the Turkish territories, where they knew that besides the payment of the tenths they would be subject to no imposts or vexations."*

According to the *canon namé* (or imperial constitutions) compiled by order of Soliman the First, the number of *ziamets* (or estates comprehending five hundred acres of land or upwards,) amounted to three thousand one hundred and ninety two; and the number of *timars* (or estates containing from three to five hundred acres of land,) amounted to fifty thousand one hundred and sixty; and the whole furnished a revenue of nearly four

* Leunclavius. apud Elzevir. in Turc. imp. statu. p. 85.

" Domino timarrotæ decimam tantum frugum animaliumque præbent, ac nihil ultra tenentur. (Montalbanus. ap. Elzevir. p. 68.)

millions of rix-dollars, which was appropriated to the maintenance of an army of upwards of a hundred and fifty thousand men.* Each of the feudal lords, whether *zaïms* or *timariots*, were enjoined by the charter by which they held their estates, to proceed to war on the summons of the sultan, to remain encamped, and after the campaign to return home, at their own charge, maintaining also their stipulated contingents of cavalry or infantry. In case of disobedience, or neglect to join the standard of their district, the feudal lords of Asia were fined the amount of one years revenue, and the timariots of Europe were punished by being deprived of their rank and emoluments during two years.† By this institution the sultan was provided with an inexhaustible supply of soldiers, continually augmenting as the empire became more extended, and was thereby enabled not only to carry on war without any additional expence, but even to derive from war itself the means of increasing his finances:‡

* Marsigli. Stato militare dell' impèrio Ottomanno. V. i. p. 134. "Equites enim *centum quadraginta quinque mille* detinet: quorum octuaginta mille quasi in hybernis per Europam distributi sunt, cæteri quinquaginta mille per Asiam. Hi sunt qui spachi timarrotæ vocantur; quia non annuo stipendio pecuniario sustentantur, sed assignatis agris detinentur eo pacto, ut tot equos ad bellum alant quot agrorum assignatorum proportio postulat. (De urbe Constant. et imp. Turc. relatio incerti apud Honorium in Turc. imp. statu ap. Elzevir, p. 117.)

Olivier (V. i. p. 190.) says, "it is computed that there are in the European part of the empire 914 *zaïms* and 8356 *timars*: the number in Asia is nearly the same: and the whole furnish a militia of above 60,000 men."—Mr. Eton, whose statement is incorrect, though perhaps not entirely imaginary, reckons 132,000 men. (Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 65.)

† Marsigli. V. i. p. 95.

‡ Montalbanus ap. Elzevir. pp. 16, 17, 25.

for whenever vacancies happen, whether from death or forfeiture, the sultan immediately becomes invested with the power of filling them up with new appointments; and it is asserted that the same lordship has been eight times successively disposed of in the course of one campaign. During the continuance of the war the *ziamets* and *timars* are granted to those among the volunteers, who in hopes of obtaining such rewards have signalized their valour; but it is probable that the number which remains to be disposed of at the peace, according to the usual traffic of the porte, must always be considerable.

All the lands were not however exhausted by these partitions: the revenues of some were appropriated to mosques, to the great officers of state, to the mother and mistresses of the sultan, or to children of the Imperial family; and the residue burthened with a territorial impost or land-tax, was left by an undefined tenure to the ancient proprietors. These, if Mussulmans, had the privilege of going to war: others, whether Turks or infidels, who, from choice, or from civil incapacity, devoted themselves exclusively to the arts of peace, and enjoyed their estates under the common protection of the crown, were called *beledis*, or *rayahs*, and their military service was commuted by a tribute. The Mussulman proprietors of this description thus formed the national, and the feudal proprietors, the feudal militia. Enthusiasm and the hopes of reward or plunder formerly collected and held together the great bodies of men, whom the Ottoman sovereigns were enabled to call into the field: but now, as it has been justly stated, if their enthusiasm do not even evaporate

during the preparation for the expedition, it seldom survives their arrival at the camp, where they soon learn the difficulty of conquering, and the greater probability of being overpowered and plundered by the infidels.* Upon a declaration of war, all the inhabitants of a district, from sixteen to sixty, are summoned to join the standard of the pasha, and to rendezvous at a certain place. The feudal soldiery join from duty, and the obligations of their charter; but the national militia consult their inclination, both as to the nature, and the term of their service. If they like the war, or the commanders, they join the army; but are not, even then, obliged to serve out the campaign.† The feudal institutions were once considered with justice as the chief support of the empire: but the services of neither militia can now be depended upon when required, nor are they as advantageous, when obtained, as they formerly were. There is a general disinclination to the military service, and the obligation to remain in the field is not permanent even upon the feudal troops. Their expeditions are regulated by the festivals of the Christian saints, George and Demetrius, whom they denote by the names of Hydyrliz and Cassim. A soldier is punished by

* See Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 69.

† "Le gouvernement militaire est devenu la constitution fondamentale de tous les états Musulmans. Chaque individu s'y reconnoît soldat: toujours il est prêt à prendre les armes et à marcher sous l'étendard du prophète. On doit enfin considérer la nation entière comme un grand corps d'armée dont le souverain est le généralissime." (Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. 202.) See also, Observations on the religion, law, &c. of the Turks, Preface, p. xxv.)

mulct or disgrace, who delays to join the army beyond the twenty-third of April, old stile; but having served to the twenty-sixth of October, the judge of the camp cannot refuse him his certificate, and he may return to his home without being subject to pain or penalty.* This radical defect, according to the modern system of warfare, vitiates, or rather annihilates, the utility of the institution; and, though the sultans have not yet claimed the right of imposing taxes as a substitute for that of commanding the services of their subjects, they are nevertheless forced to maintain a standing army.

Janizaries

The military order of the janizaries was instituted in the year 768 of the Hegira, or 1362 of the Christian æra. They were first formed into a body of twelve thousand men, composed of captive Christians, of whom a fifth part, chosen from amongst the most comely and most robust, were appropriated to the service of the emperor. Their education, from their childhood, was such as to inspire them with courage and hardiness, and obedience to the strictest military discipline. Hagi Bektash, a religious Turk, famous for his miracles and prophecies, gave his benediction to the corps, at the request of Sultan Murad. Placing the sleeve

* Cantemir, p. 247. "Hybernam abnuunt militiam." (Montalban. ap. Elzevir. p. 26.) If Dr. Wittman had been acquainted with this circumstance, he would have been enabled to account for a conduct, which he has misrepresented from the want of such previous knowledge. "November 25th. There had been latterly frequent *desertions*, both from the great encampment at Jaffa, and from that of El-Arish. It ought, notwithstanding, to be observed, that these *desertions* were not to the common enemy, but into the interior of the country. It frequently happened that the troops went off in large bodies." (Travels, p. 191.)

of his gown on one of their heads, he prophesied " that their hand should be victorious, their sword keen, and their spear hang over the heads of their enemies: " and his prediction was literally fulfilled, as long as victory depended on personal prowess, together with the skilful management of hand-arms. Their common general is the *janizar aga*, whose court and palace are in the capital. His rank gives him access to his sovereign, whom he is privileged to assist in public ceremonies, as he alights from his horse. His power over the subalterns is unlimited, and supersedes that of the civil magistrate, and even of the vizir. All promotions depend on him, and he is empowered to inflict punishment, even to death, upon the disobedient soldiery.

Of the janizaries, those who are quartered in their *odas* (or barracks) at Constantinople, those who are in garrison, and who have followed their kettle, are entitled to pay. Their number, according to the disbursements of the treasury, is forty thousand. In time of peace they watch over and secure the public and domestic tranquillity in the frontier and garrison towns, and exercise all the functions of police officers.

The janizaries have the privilege of being judged and punished for misconduct by their own officers. The lieutenant of the company has power to put them under arrest: the place of their confinement is the kitchen, where they are left in irons under the charge of the cook. The captain may sentence them to the bastinado, and the sentence is executed under the inspection of the lieutenant. The time of inflicting the punishment is after

the evening prayer: the offender is conducted to an inner chamber, and stretched out with his face towards the ground: two of the oldest janizaries hold him down by the neck and the feet. The *vekil hardj* (or commissary) attends with a lighted candle; and care is taken, in distributing the blows, which seldom exceed forty, not to disable the sufferer from marching. After the execution of the sentence, the lieutenant exhorts the by-standers to avoid the commission of such faults, as have subjected their comrade to a disgraceful and rigorous chastisement. When a janizary is sentenced to death, it is customary, (out of respect to the corps which ought to be kept exempt from ignominy) to strike his name off the lists before his execution. Whatever crime he may have committed, his punishment is invariably that of strangling. At Constantinople the execution is always performed with the greatest secrecy, and the body is thrown into the sea and carried away by the current of the Bosphorus. In provincial towns the custom is still continued of announcing the death of a janizary by firing a gun; but it has long since been abolished in the capital.*

The muster-rolls of the janizaries, as well as those of every

* Marsigli, V. i. p. 75. What shall we say to Dr. Pouqueville? He has worked up in his best manner a pathetic representation of his own feelings, when in the middle of a fine night, just after the equinox of autumn, his meditations in the garden of the Seven Towers were interrupted by the report of a gun. I confess myself unequal to the task of doing justice by a translation to the doctor's description of the beauty of the scene,—the moon suspended *like a chandelier* in the starry vault of the sky, the oscillation of the waters of the Bosphorus, and the universal stillness of nature. The doctor was giving a loose to his imagination: he was thinking of the gaieties of Paris and the comforts of a family party, when suddenly his ears were struck with the noise

corps of Ottoman troops, magnify their numbers beyond the truth, for the privileges annexed to the military profession engage most of the Mussulmans to enrol themselves; but those who do not join their standard, are called *yamaks* and receive no pay. The reason of their attaching themselves to military bodies, is this; the Turkish population is divided into *askeris* (or warriors,) and *beledis* (citizens or townsmen,) and according to the law, a Mahometan, unconnected with any military corps, is equally with infidels, subject to the capitation

of a cannon, and his hair still stands on end at the recollection. The tender hearted doctor immediately conjectured it to be a signal of distress from a vessel which was suffering shipwreck, (an idea which could have occurred to no other mortal besides himself, in a night such as that which he has just described :) but another gun which re-echoed along the shores of Europe and Asia, disconcerted the doctor so much that he applied to the guards in order to learn the cause of it: and " *they told him* that this dreadful language of battles announced to the vizir, who was sleeping in his harem, the execution of his orders. Some janizaries had just undergone the punishment of death; and their bodies delivered to the maddening currents of the Bosphorus already rolled down the Propontis. The number of guns," the doctor observes, " corresponded with that of the persons executed." (Voyages en Morée, &c. V. ii. p. 140.) I am sorry that truth compels me to dissipate so pleasing a fiction. I myself was at Constantinople at the period which Dr. Pouqueville has fixed upon as the date of this event, and *I know that no guns were fired in the night;* for so unusual a circumstance would have excited universal alarm, and would have furnished conversation to the whole town. And again even though the doctor might not have known that the *janizar aga* alone has power to condemn a janizary to death, and that such executions are secretly performed in the capital, yet the guard could not have been so ill informed as to have misled him into such inaccuracies; and the doctor himself must certainly have known that the vizir, instead of slumbering in his harem, was in all probability kept waking with anxiety in the camp of Jaffa, and brooding over the inefficiency of his army.

tax, and must equally contribute to all imposts on the cities, towns, or villages; and though this law be not rigorously enforced, it still engages most Turks to enrol themselves. The embodied janizaries follow the canons of Sultan Soliman for their regulation and discipline; but the *yamaks*, who though enrolled, are not embodied into *odas*, are dispersed throughout the empire, living as burghers, mixed with the people, and following different trades and professions, or idle vagabonds, or at best but labouring peasants.

It is said that "the preservation of their colours in battle is not an affair of such momentous concern with the janizaries, as that of the two large copper kettles which are constantly placed in the front of the tents of each regiment, and which are accompanied by a skimmer, a ladle, and a kind of halbert. On a march their kettles are carried in front of each respective regiment, and the company who should suffer them to be taken by the enemy, would be covered with infamy." It is from this practice, says De Tott, that the colonel is called the *giver of soup*, the major is stiled *head of the kitchen*, and the *scullions* and *water-bearers* are adjutants. But De Tott, who was himself enrolled in the company of janizaries who were garrisoned at Perecop, should have known better, or should have disdained to sacrifice truth to such a pitiful jest. The captain or commander of a company, is indeed called *tchorbaji*, probably from his superintending the distribution of the daily rations of soup to the men, but no other subaltern officer is distinguished by a name denoting menial occupations. The cook is simply

called by his proper appellation, although he occasionally acts in the capacity of a gaoler.*

The writers on Turkish affairs have been led into misrepresentation on this, as well as on every part of the Turkish institutions, by taking too confused a view of the subject. Sir James Porter considers the army to be composed of the body of the people, and the janizaries to amount to two or three hundred thousand men, independently of those who get themselves enrolled to enjoy the privileges. Peyssonnel supposes they may consist of many millions: Baron De Tott calculates them to be four hundred thousand: and finally Mr. Eton, who has made his calculation "from the concurring testimony of several persons who had the most intimate acquaintance with it, from an application of many years, and with means of acquiring the best information," determines them to be an hundred and thirteen thousand four hundred. But the number of effective janizaries is best determined by the amount of their pay. Two thousand four hundred purses are issued every six months from the treasury; a sum which allows thirty piastres a man for an army calculated at forty thousand. This allowance,

* (See Marsigli. V. i. p. 69. Dr. Wittman's Travels, p. 236. De Tott's Memoirs, V. ii. p. 70, and V. iii. p. 106.) The officers belonging to each company of janizaries are distinguished by the following names. *Tchorbaji*, or captain; *oda bashi*, lieutenant (literally the head of the chamber;) *vekil hardj*, commissary; *bairacter*, ensign; *bash eski*, standard-bearer (literally the head of the veterans, from the office being generally conferred on the oldest janizary of the company); and *aschgi*, or cook. The superior officers, from the *janizar aga* to the *chaous* (who may be considered as an adjutant), have titles which accurately express the nature or duties of their respective posts.

which is commonly distributed to them in quarterly payments, was equal at the institution of the corps to about a shilling sterling a day; but it is now reduced by the debasement of the coin to about one quarter of its original value.*

* Observations on the religion, laws, &c. of the Turks, Preface, pp. xxiii, xxiv. and xxviii. Peyssonnel's Strictures and remarks on De Tott's Memoirs, appendix, p. 259. De Tott, V. iii. p. 134. Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 65.

I have quoted the precise words with which Mr. Eton prefaces his estimate of the military force of the Turks: I have however discovered with no small degree of surprize, that the estimate itself is (with the addition indeed of 35 men to every four companies) a copy of a schedule which was published in a work entitled "The present state of the Ottoman empire, translated from the French manuscript of Elias Habesci, many years resident at Constantinople in the service of the Grand Signor. London, 1784." Now who is Elias Habesci, on whose labours Mr. Eton founds his claim to the gratitude of the public? An ignorant impostor, who calls himself a Greek, and yet pretends to have written his work originally in the Arabic language (preface, p. iv.); who abuses the nation to which he pretends to belong, and even dares to say (p. 367.) that "*their priests are the most abominable race of men upon earth;*" an idea which perhaps was never conceived, and certainly was never expressed by a Greek of Constantinople. But this *pseudo-greek* betrays himself by his language; he compares the Porte to Westminster-Hall, and tells us that the Bosphorus is somewhat broader than the Thames at London (p. 354). His ignorance is unparalleled: He says (p. 422.) the city of Constantinople has Moldavia for its boundary to the North; the Hellespont and the Black Sea on the East; Bulgaria and part of Macedonia on the West; the Ægean Sea on the South." It would be an insult to common sense to make further extracts from such a work, and I even feel it necessary by way of apology to explain, in some degree, the motives which have induced me to draw such a wretched performance from the obscurity into which it seems to have fallen immediately on its publication. *I have discovered the author by the internal evidence of the book itself:* but to name him would be to hold him up not only to general contempt, but to general indignation; for the book is the work of an assassin, who from his dark retreat has directed his envenomed shafts against private reputation and the peace of domestic life. I do not however extend this censure to the author of *another publication under the name of Elias Habesci, printed at Calcutta;* a chaos of absurdities, which, to the disgrace of the English name in India, is dedicated, *by permission*, to Earl Cornwallis. This author confesses that his

In Constantinople the janizaries receive their pay within the second court of the seraglio. The money, which is put in bags of yellow leather, each of which contains five hundred piastres, is first brought into the divan, and the purses are piled up in heaps before the vizir: it is then told out and distributed in proportionate lots to the *tchorbajis* of the different *odas*. The bags composing each of these lots are laid on the pavement before the door of the divan, and on a signal being given, the janizaries of the company appointed to receive them rush forward, and each man endeavours to collect as many purses as possible, although he derives no other advantage from it, than the honour of carrying them on his shoulder to the barracks, where the distribution of their pay is made to the privates.

An indiscriminate censure has been passed on the whole body of janizaries, from an observation of that part which is only nominally attached to it. Their degeneracy is differently accounted for; by some it is attributed to their being for the greater part married and settled; to their practising mechanical arts; to their being allowed to exempt themselves from military service for money, or under various pretences; to their enrolling their children in their company or *oda*; and to their being enervated by the

real name is not Elias Habesci, which he says is an enigma (though probably he means an anagram) on *Sahib-el-Sicia*, which in the Arabic language, he tells us, means friend of the unfortunate, but I believe we need not seek for its derivation in the Arabic language; *alias A. B. C.* is the ridiculous conceit which has seduced this "par nobile fratrum" into the unbecoming practices which I earnestly desire they may now repent of.

luxury of the capital and weakened by indolence.* But individually considered, the janizaries are in no respect inferior to the Christian soldiers, either in bodily strength, in the capacity of supporting fatigue, or in promptitude of obedience to their officers. The luxury of the capital, the least luxurious in Europe, can scarcely have an enervating effect on men, whose pay, even when augmented by the profits of labour, can with difficulty procure them the necessaries of life. I rather impute their present inferiority to the insufficiency of the constitutional laws of their establishment, which, from the prejudice against innovation, it has been found impossible to new-model, and which did not provide for future improvement, proportionate to the progress of European tactics. Their ancient discipline has been relaxed from an experience of its insufficiency; and their past reputation has now no other support than native valour and enthusiasm, dispirited and overawed by the wonders of modern warfare, and the acknowledged superiority of European sciences. The sultans themselves have been accused of bastardizing and rendering contemptible the corps of janizaries, by cutting off the most eminent of their leaders, and supplying their places with the meanest creatures of their court, and by introducing among the soldiery men occupied in the

* I have copied these reproaches *verbatim* from the works of *modern* travellers; but the reproaches themselves are not of modern invention, for I find them expressed to the same effect in a treatise (Ex politeia regia) in Elzevir's collection. "Hæc militia nostro tempore multum eviluit, quia etiam Turcæ in janizzaros assumuntur, sunt et Asiatici, quum primum non alii quam Christiani Europæ admitterentur: deinde, quia uxores ducunt, præter antiquum morem, nec id ipsis vetitum est: tum, quod propter longam moram Constantinopoli (*qua non alia urbs magis est deliciis dedita*) multum viluerunt: segniores insolentes, imo intolerabiles evaserunt."

lowest employments, and stained with the most infamous crimes, till at length they have succeeded, in extinguishing every spark of that fire which they dreaded.* The historical event, to which Mr. Eton seems to allude, is the conduct of Ahmed the Third, who in the year 1703 succeeded to the throne, after the deposition of his brother Mustafa. The dethroned sultan communicated to his successor, together with the tidings of his elevation, the admonition not to suffer the treacherous rebels, the instruments of his advancement, to escape with impunity; and although Ahmed, by inheriting his resentment, certainly contributed to the debility of the empire, yet his revenge was directed, not against the institution of the janizaries, but against the promoters of the insurrection, in whatever department of the state, who might be tempted, by the success of their late rebellion, to plot new treason against himself.† We learn indeed from history, that the power, and consequent insolence, of the janizaries have frequently excited in the sultans apprehensions as to their personal safety, and have induced them to attempt by secret and insidious measures to weaken their authority, or even to abolish the order. Osman the Second was suspected of concealing, under the avowed intention of performing the pilgrimage to Mecca and of paying his devotions at

* Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 29.

† Le nouveau sultan, pour toute récompense d'une couronne qu'il devoit aux ministres, aux généraux, aux officiers des janissaires, enfin à ceux qui avoient eu part à la révolution, les fit tous périr les uns après les autres, de peur qu'un jour ils n'en tentassent une seconde. Par le sacrifice de tant de braves gens il affoiblit les forces de l'empire; mais il affermit son trône, du moins pour quelques années. (Voltaire, Hist. de Charles XII, liv. iv.)

the tomb of Mahomet, the design of aiming at the destruction of the corps of janizaries with the aid of a new militia, which he purposed to establish in Egypt. The ulema, the ministers of state, and the officers of the army, remonstrated in vain: the sultan persisted in his pious design; but his violent deposition and premature death more firmly rivetted the power, and confirmed the arrogance, of the janizaries.* Mahomet the Fourth, urged by similar motives of jealousy, is said to have given the first mortal blow to the power and reputation of the janizaries. By the advice of his grand vizir Kioprili Oglu, he connived at the introduction of abuses into their establishment. The daily exercises of the different companies were no longer rigorously enforced, nor the reviews at stated periods regularly observed. The soldiers relaxed into indolence:† they consumed in sloth and dissipation the hours which ought to have been devoted to discipline and the military duties: they even quitted the laborious exercise of arms to follow mechanical or other lucrative occupations.‡ Count Marsigli, who surveyed the military state of the Ottoman empire in the camps and capital of Mahomet the Fourth, attributes to this cause the discredit into which the janizaries had already fallen. He must indeed be allowed to be a competent judge of the effects of that negligence which he condemns; but he may perhaps err in attributing to Mahomet's jealousy or timidity the deterioration of this

* Tableau Général, V. i. p. 409.

† "Ut armorum desuetudine longa imbelles redderentur: amant namque otia Turcæ." (Montalban. ap. Elzevir, p. 98.)

‡ Stato militare dell' impèrio Ottomanno, V. ii. p. 5.

military order. The whole reign of Sultan Mahomet was passed in war, and his authority with the army was so great, that when at last he was irritated by the obstacles and delays which had protracted the siege of Candia, he ordered it to be proclaimed in the camp, that not a soldier should appear in his presence alive, unless the city was taken: and such was the effect of his menace, that the Turks by a more vigorous effort effected the reduction of a city, which had occupied the chief force of the empire during the space of thirty years.* It is possible that the discipline of the janizaries was less attended to under Mahomet, and that less care was bestowed on the choice and education of recruits; but I think it by no means probable that his conduct was dictated by fear, or by a studied design to enfeeble the forces of his empire.†

To the care which was formerly bestowed on an habitual preparation of the noviciate for the hardships of the military life, and to the strictness and severity of subsequent discipline, may be ascribed the martial character and long supported reputation of the janizaries. The boy destined to be enrolled in this honourable

Agemoglans.

* Cantemir's Ottoman history, p. 258, note.

† The Venetian bailo (who appears from a passage in his memorial, p. 117, to have written it soon after the conquest of Cyprus in the reign of Selim the Second, and more than a century before the vizirship of Kioprili Oglu) describes the janizaries as having already fallen from the virtue and merit of their predecessors; and consequently, as their debasement was confessedly gradual, it cannot be wholly imputed to Mahomet the Fourth. "Antiquam nihilominus virtutem descrentes, paulatim corrumpi videntur: propterea quod plerique Turcarum filii, qui militariter educati non sunt, ad hujusmodi militiam passim admittuntur; ac proinde ita perfecti non evadunt, ut veteres fuere janizzari, qui res admirandas gessere." (Relat. incert. ap. Elzevir, p. 122.)

corps, was chosen because of his athletic make and vigorous constitution: he was instructed and trained with as much care as were the Roman soldiers. The corps of *agemoglans* was the great school whence alone it was lawful to select recruits for the army of the janizaries.* When once enrolled in the books of the *agemoglans*, the youth were placed in the service of the prince or his pashas, or delivered over for a term of years to serve under the Mussulman peasantry in the labours of agriculture, and to be initiated in the doctrines of islamism: their bodies were thus strengthened by labour to resist the inclemencies of the seasons, and to undergo the fatigues of war: they were inured by penury and abstinence to support hunger and thirst, and prepared for obedience by the rigours of servitude. Their masters were summoned to produce them whenever the service required supplies, and they were drafted into the chambers or companies of the janizaries. Those who had been received into the sultan's household, were employed in the laborious services of the seraglio; in cleaving wood for the use of the kitchen, or in rowing the gallies across the Propontis to load and transport from the coasts of Asia Minor, the materials necessary for the repairs of the palace or the construction of public edifices: six hundred were employed under the carpenters and caulkers in the imperial dock-yards: and upwards of ten thousand, under the name of *bostanjis* or gardeners, were distributed in the seraglio, and other palaces of the sultan in Asia and Europe. On the first

* It is ordained in the constitutional laws, established by Sultan Murad the founder of the institution of the janizaries, that no one shall be received into the corps, unless he be of the race of the *versemes*, (tributary children) and have been previously educated among the *agemoglans*. (See Marsigli's military state of the Ottoman empire, p. 67.)

admission of a recruit among the janizaries, he performed the menial services of the kitchen and offices; but at the same time he was daily initiated in military exercises and the use of arms, by the most skilful of his comrades. His pay was gradually augmented, but he was not admitted to a perfect equality with the other janizaries, or considered deserving of the pay of a veteran, until he had signalized his courage in actual warfare.* A spirit of emulation was thus diffused among the troops, and cherished by successive promotions; nor were military honours their only recompense: there are examples in history of men being raised from the ranks to the highest dignities in the state, and Soliman the First even gave his sister in marriage to Ibrahim, whom, from a private of the ninth company of janizaries, he had created grand vizir.†

It is the opinion of an impartial observer that "the janizaries of the present day, however they may have relaxed from the discipline which in ancient times rendered them so formidable, may still be considered as the most select and regular of the Turkish troops: They are at the same time better and more uniformly dressed and equipped than the other soldiers."‡

* See Busbeq. de re mil. cont. Tur. instit. consilium.—"Mittit quotannis Turcarum princeps certos homines in diversas provincias, qui de paucis e Christianis hominibus natis, tertium aut quartum quemque legant," &c. (pp. 298—303.) See also Marsigli, V. i. p. 77. and Rycaut, p. 40.

† Cantemir's Ottoman history, p. 178.

‡ Dr. Wittman's Travels, p. 235.

The body of janizaries is divided into a hundred and ninety six companies, which are distinguished by the devices on their colours, and by numerical order, according to the arrangement of their respective chambers in the barracks at Constantinople and that of their tents in the field: certain companies have likewise names descriptive of the offices which they hold in the court of the sultan, and the privileges with which they are honoured.* Some companies, from the merit of former services, enjoy a kind of hereditary pre-eminence, particularly the thirty-first. The order of janizaries furnishes also the only example of public anathema, or excommunication, in the whole history of the Ottomans. In the insurrection, which dethroned Osman the Second, a soldier of the sixty-fifth dared to lift his impious hand against the person of his fallen monarch, and insulted over his misfortune in the public streets of the city. Murad the Fourth, the brother and successor of Osman, punished the sacrilege, by annihilating the company. The memory of the crime and the punishment is preserved and renewed twice in every month: on the Wednesday, when the distribution of candles is made to the different chambers, the sixty-

* The janizaries of the 64th are called *zagargis*, keepers of the sultan's hounds: the 71st are called *samsongis*, keepers of the mastiffs: In like manner the *sonogis*, keepers of the grey-hounds and falcons, are the 68th company. The *seymeny aegiler*, huntsmen or sportsmen, are the 14th, 35th, and 49th. The captain of the 35th must have previously passed through all the ranks and offices of the company; and the *oda bashi* or lieutenant of the same company is the only one of that rank to whom it is permitted to marry. The *solaks* of the 62d and 63d march on each side of the sultan: their name, which is derived from *sol* the left hand, is given to them from their being equally expert in the use of their bows with either hand, so as never to turn their back towards the sultan. (See Marsigli, V. i. p. 71.)

fifth is summoned to receive its ration; but at the second citation, an officer solemnly pronounces, "Let its voice be silenced: let it utterly perish."*

The janizaries form the principal branch of that division of the Turkish army which is distinguished from the *toprakly*, or feudal militia, by the appellation of *capiculy*, a word which properly signifies a slave of the Porte, but which nearly corresponds with the modern term of soldier, inasmuch as it denotes that class of troops who receive their pay from the treasury of the prince. Next to the janizaries, the most important military establishment upheld by the Ottoman porte is that of the *topgis*, (gunners or artillery-men) whose number is not fixed in the *canon namé* of Sultan Soliman, but who, in the account of a modern traveller who possessed talents of the first rank and all the means of acquiring information, are stated to consist of thirty thousand men, dispersed throughout the empire like the janizaries, and obliged to join their standard when.

Other bodies of infantry receiving pay from the porte;

topgis,

* Tableau Général, V. i. p. 299.—It would be an injustice to the body of the janizaries, were I thus to leave them under the imputation of mutiny and rebellion, without extenuating, in some degree, the conduct which stains the annals of their earlier history, by confronting it with that of the modern janizaries. Dr. Wittman (p. 206.) relates the circumstances of an insurrection occasioned by a scarcity in the camp at Jaffa. "In the midst of their discontent they were willing, they said, to agree to two things, namely, that the English should have barley for their horses, because they were good friends; and that the horses which drew the guns should also be furnished with provender, as such a supply was necessary to the public service: but they could not consent that any part of what was in store should be issued for the use of the great officers of state, as they could afford to make the requisite purchases."

ordered.* Their general is the *topgi bashi*, who exerts absolute authority over those employed under him in the different departments. The barracks of the *topgis*, and the principal foundery of cannon, are situated on the northern shore at the entrance of the harbour of Constantinople, opposite to the Seraglio, in the district called Tophana. The superintendance of the *topgi bashi* extends to all the fortresses and garrison-towns of the empire, which he supplies, according to the orders of the grand vizir, with artillery stores and ammunition, and keeps a register of the state of their respective magazines. The service of the *topgis* is not confined to the exercise of the great guns: part of them are employed in the foundery, and others form a corps of artificers, and construct gun-carriages and artillery waggons. De Tott describes the *topgis* as being subject to no discipline and never embodied, although forty thousand were enrolled and paid. It is to himself, we are told, that the Turks are indebted for the establishment of a new corps of artillery, for whose regulation he drew up a code, which was sanctioned with all due formality by the grand signor. I know not whether this account be exact or not; but certain it is that the Turkish *topgis* of the present day, compared with those whom De Tott describes, are prodigies of improvement. "The officers of the British military detachment witnessed the artillery practice, and found it better than they had been led to expect. The Turkish artillery-men beat down the target several times, and their mortar-practice was by no means contemptible."†

* Olivier, Travels in the Ottoman empire, Egypt, and Persia, V. i. p. 195.

† De Tott, V. iii. p. 132. Dr. Wittman's Travels, p. 8.

The *gebegis*, or armourers have their barracks in Constantinople near the mosque of Sancta Sophia: they are divided into sixty *odas*: they guard the public arsenal or repository of arms, *gebhané*, and their duty is to furbish and keep in proper order the different warlike instruments, and to distribute them on the day of battle to the janizaries. Their number is not correctly ascertained, but the sum appropriated for their annual pay is registered in the *canon namé* at a hundred and ninety-two purses, or ninety-six thousand rixdollars.* gebegis.

"The Ottomans," says Dr. Wittman, "have introduced into their armies, among other beneficial regulations, the establishment of a corps of *sakkas*, or water-carriers, who attend in the field and on a march to supply the troops with water." Their number is unfixed, and they have no particular officers among them; but they obey the officer of the company to which they are attached. They carry water in leathern budgets slung across a horse, and as the consumption of water in a Turkish camp is prodigious, because of the frequent ablutions which the Mahometan religion enjoins, the *sakkas* are in constant activity, and are distinguishable, even in a Turkish army, by the darker tinge of their complexion.† sakkas.

Among the *capiculy* are also to be comprehended a corps of cavalry, consisting of fifteen thousand men, divided into *spahis* of Cavalry receiving pay from the porte.

* Marsigli, V. i. p. 82.

† Dr. Wittman's Travels, p. 393. Marsigli, V. i. p. 80.

the right, and left, wing, and distinguished by their red, or yellow, standards: they are paid out of the public treasury, from which two thousand and seventy purses are annually issued, and distributed among them in quarterly payments. The reputation of the Turkish cavalry has thrown lustre on the history of their armies, and perhaps, when in its most flourishing state, it was not inferior to that of the Mamelukes, which Denon calls the best cavalry of the East, and perhaps of the whole world.*

Serratculy or troops receiving pay from the pashas.

The pashas of the provinces, from funds specifically appropriated to that purpose, levy corps of provincial troops, called *serratculy*, to assist in the operations of the grand army and to serve in the fortresses: these are not kept up in constant pay, but embodied only in time of war or during the march of an army: they consist of *azaps*, or pioneers; *lagumjis*, or miners; and *hissarlis*, who assist the *topgis* in the artillery service.

This great assemblage of force is however now felt and acknowledged to be insufficient, either for external defence, or for insuring domestic tranquillity; and the new troops, which have been successively embodied, (among whom European tactics have, of late years, been partially but imperfectly introduced,) offer rather a prospect of meditated improvement, than any actual amelioration of their military system. Mahmud Effendi, who was secretary of

* Nothing can convey a better idea of the perfection of each mode of discipline, the Turkish and the modern European, than the description of a battle fought near Sediman in Upper Egypt between the French troops under General Dessaix and the Mamelukes and Arabs under Murat Bey. (See Denon, V. i. p. 238.)

the Turkish embassy in London, and since promoted to the dignity of *reïs effendi*, printed, and published at Constantinople, an account of the military establishments of the empire, in the French language; but their effective force may be better estimated from the inefficiency of their operations in conjunction with the allies during the late Egyptian campaign.

General Koëhler, who afterwards commanded the British detachment which joined the grand vizir's army in the expedition against the French in Egypt, mentioned to me that he had made enquiry of a renegado from our own country named Inguiliz Mustafa, as to the order observed in the arrangement of a Turkish camp, and that Mustafa answered only by scattering about on the table a quantity of the small pieces of Turkish money called *paras*. But Mustafa, from a long residence among the Turks, had adopted so much of the figurative inaccuracy of Oriental language, that he willingly sacrificed a considerable portion of truth to the preservation of a jest, or a conceit. As such his reply must be allowed to possess some merit, particularly as it does not ill describe that general state of confusion which has been observed of late years to exist in the camps of the Ottomans; but we shall fall into error if we adopt as a logical truth, what should be considered only as a figure of burlesque rhetoric. Order of encampment.

" The Turkish troops at Jaffa were observed to be encamped in the most confused and irregular manner, without any order in the positions they occupied; each individual having pitched his tent on the spot which was most agreeable to his inclination. The

only regulation, that seemed to border somewhat on system, was that each pasha was surrounded by his own men. The carcasses of dead animals, such as camels and horses, were scattered in great abundance among the tents, and mouldered away without giving the smallest concern, or occasioning any apparent inconvenience to the Turkish soldiery."* It may perhaps be thought not uninteresting to confront with this description of the last Turkish camp which was formed, (and which I am convinced is literally accurate,) the account of Soliman's camp, as described by Baron Busbek, who surveyed it, by permission of the grand vizir, in the disguise of an Oriental dress, which allowed him full opportunity for making observations, and screened him at the same time from the impertinent curiosity of the Turkish soldiers. He found the different bodies of infantry and cavalry arranged in the most admirable order: the most respectful silence and decency of behaviour prevailed in the camp: there was no brawling or contention, no drunkenness or licentiousness. But that which he chiefly commends, is their great attention to cleanliness: every thing, he says, which could offend the senses was carefully removed out of sight, or buried in the earth.†

When the formation of a camp is determined upon, for the purpose of assembling together an army previously to its marching to the scene of action, a proclamation is issued to all the pashas and military governors, summoning them to repair to the Imperial standard, with their respective bodies of troops.

* Dr. Wittman's Travels, pp. 121. 123.

† Busbeq. Epist. p. 167.

According to an invariable rule, when the sultan or the grand vizir takes the field, their tents are pitched on the plains nearest to the imperial residence, and on that continent in which the war is to be prosecuted: the place of general rendezvous is indicated by their standards, consisting of seven, or of five, horse-tails. The troops from the different provinces muster at the appointed time, and arrive at the destined place, either singly, or in small bands formed from motives of private convenience and held together by mutual consent: so that this operation among the Turks, because of the little order observed in it, cannot be considered as a military movement.

The routes of the troops from the most distant provinces are traced out according to the direction of the high roads. The pasha of Anatolia, when the war is in Europe, crosses the Bosphorus from Scutari, and forms his camp in the environs of Constantinople, keeping the city on his left hand. The troops of Media cross the Hellespont at Gallipoli, and leaving Adrianople on their right, march towards Philippopolis where they wait for, or join, the grand army. Those from Aleppo, Damascus, and Egypt, embark at the nearest sea ports and proceed to Salonica in Macedonia: their cavalry however performs the journey by land, and passes over into Europe through Gallipoli.

From Salonica the Asiatic and Egyptian troops continue their march through the city of Sophia, and the valley formed by the river Vardar, to the borders of Lower Albania, where they encamp in the plains of Nissa, and are joined by the Albanians who

descend from the high mountains of their province. Those of Bosnia cross the Save at Prod, and are joined by different small companies of Sclavonians, with whom they proceed to the general rendezvous. Rycaut asserts, that " no abuses are committed on the people in the march of a Turkish army; all is bought and paid with money, as by travellers that are guests at an inn; there are no complaints by mothers of the rape of their virgin daughters, no violences or robberies offered on the inhabitants." And it must be observed that Rycaut spake from experience; for he was sent by the English ambasador, the Earl of Winchelsea, to meet the grand vizir on his return from the wars in Hungary, and he not only remained several days in the camp, but returned together with the army from Belgrade in Servia, to Adrianople.* But though the presence of the vizir, and the severity of the discipline established by him, might, in this instance, have enforced due subordination and proper conduct, during the march of his army, yet a contrary practice seems not only to have prevailed, but even to have been connived at by government, during the irregular marches of troops to join the great body of the army. Their progress has been compared to that of a torrent of burning lava: I have myself seen a small part of the devastation which they occasion, and have witnessed the cruelties which they commit. It is true that in their journies they avoid molesting the Turkish inhabitants, but they enter into the villages and the cottages of the rayahs as into their own houses, and not only apply to their own use or to their own pleasure

* Present state of the Ottoman Empire, p. 205.

whatever attracts their attention, but exact a pecuniary recompense for the wear of their teeth, in return for their violation of the rights of hospitality. This I have seen; and I have also seen the inhabitants of a populous village abandon their houses, and fly to the mountains or the woods with their families and household furniture, and disperse their herds of cattle, and bury their corn in pits, to avoid the ravages of a company of twenty warriors of whose approach they had received previous notice.

The troops destined to compose the Ottoman army under the command of the pashas, beys, and other officers, are already in full march on every side to reach the place assigned them for a rendezvous, when the grand vizir, in the beginning of the month of May, takes public leave of the sultan, and proceeds to his head quarters in the camp, with a suite of about three or four thousand men. "It is impossible," says Dr. Wittman, "to contemplate these pompous ceremonies, and not to contrast them with the secrecy and silence, with which the first movements of European armies are undertaken. It must be a trifling nation which can delay an expedition of importance, even for a single day, lest some little rite or ceremony should be omitted: and it is truly impolitic thus to advertise an enemy, for even months beforehand, of the advance of an army."* The observation, such as it is, is not to be attributed to Dr. Wittman, for he had not arrived at Constantinople when the vizir passed over to the camp at Scutari: but the charge against the Turks appears

* Dr. Wittman's Travels, p. 10.

frivolous and unfounded, for whatever ceremonies may precede the vizir's quitting the capital in order to put himself at the head of the army, they do not serve to convey more speedy or more correct intelligence of such an event, than an official notice to the same effect in the court gazette: and to require that the vizir and the grand army should steal out from the extremity of Europe, and fall unawares upon a vigilant enemy on the confines of Africa, is, I think, imposing on the Turks a task, which the most wily Christian general would find it impossible to perform.

The grand vizir first encamps in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, in the plains about Daout Pasha. The office of *conakgi bashi,* corresponds with that of quarter-master-general in our service. The importance of his duties must be evident, when it is considered how much the safety and prosperity of an army depends upon an intelligent system of castrametation. Every body knows that a camp planned by able and experienced generals is as the order of battle: but that of the Turks is too frequently only a confused heap of tents and baggage, traced out in the form of a crescent, but huddled together without order or regularity. Such negligence, which nothing can excuse, becomes more deserving of censure, when it is considered that it is a dereliction of ancient practice, a deviation from the military statutes of their ancestors. The *conakgi bashi* having received his orders from the vizir, or in the vizir's absence from the *seraskier,* (or general in chief), proceeds to trace out the camp, accompanied by the *conakgis* of the different pashas. The written orders delivered to the *conakgi bashi* relate only to the distribution of the

janizaries, the infantry of the *serratculy*, the artillery, and the cavalry of the *capiculy*. As for the *toprakly* cavalry, the ammunition and provision waggons, and the head-quarters of the grand vizir, their stations are always uniformly ascertained, whatever may be the general plan of the camp. The central point, and that which determines the relative position of every other part of the army, is the tent called *leylek tchadir*, (tent of the stork.) It is higher than any other tent, and is erected on a single pole, which is painted red and supports a ball or globe of the same colour. Under the *leylek tchadir* the divan assembles, the councils of war are held, and justice is administered. In the front of it is the place of public execution, where death or lighter punishments are inflicted; and there also the heads are exposed of those who have been put to death in the provinces.

When the sultan takes the field the *leylek tchadir* is covered with cloth of different colours, white, green, and red. When His Highness does not head the army, the tent of the grand vizir, which is formed on the same plan as that of the sultan, is situated immediately behind the *leylek tchadir;* the tents of the officers of his household, and the extensive stables for his horses are adjoining to the head-quarters. The military chests are piled up in front of the *leylek tchadir.* The officers of the treasury and the chancery, the *cazy-askers*, the *imams*, and the *kubbe vizirs* occupy tents disposed in right lines, so as to form streets leading to the vizir's pavillion. The baggage and ammunition waggons are placed in a circle, which encloses the head-quarters of the grand vizir, and the body of the camp.

The *spahis* of the *capiculy* are divided into two bodies, and posted on the right and left wings; the artillery and the *toprakly* infantry form a line in front; and the *toprakly* cavalry, headed by their respective pashas, are arranged in a semicircle, which makes the exterior boundary of the camp. Between the head-quarters and the advanced guard, which is commanded by the *janizar aga*, are two corps of cavalry, whose horses are kept constantly saddled: the camp of the rear guard is also removed to a certain distance from the main body.

Such was formerly the general arrangement of the camp, which has been admired by military observers for the grandeur of its appearance, which corresponded with that of a beautiful city: the tents of the chief officers resembling the palaces and mosques, those of the soldiers the private houses, while those of the tradesmen were disposed in imitation of a *bazar* or market place. But as to any order in the arrangement of the tents, it appears to have been unknown or disregarded: they were turned to the right or the left, according to accident or caprice, and the tents of the pashas themselves, though distinguished from those of the privates by their shape and size, and the ensigns of their dignity which were planted in front of them, indicated nevertheless the same contempt of method and regularity.

Tents and camp-equipage.

The stately pavillion of the grand vizir is not less distinguished from those of the principal officers of the porte, by richness of ornament, than by its spacious dimensions. It has been described as surpassing the magnificence of a palace: the materials being

of the most costly stuffs, and the furniture resplendent with gold and jewels. For though the precepts of the Mahometan religion prohibit the men from indulging in the vanity and luxury of personal ornament, yet the Turks display in their armies a magnificence, inversely proportionate to the modesty of their usual appearance. The officers of the cavalry are mounted on horses, whose harness is studded with gold and silver, and covered with housings of the most costly embroidery. The arms, the chief boast of the soldier, are in most instances provided by himself, and adorned with a profusion of expence.

The insignia of a vizir, governor of a province, are—the *alem*, a large broad standard, the staff of which, instead of a spear-head, is surmounted with a silver plate in the form of a crescent,—the *tabl*, or military music, consisting of nine drums, nine fifes, seven trumpets, and four cymbals,—the *tugh*, consisting of three horse-tails artificially plaited,—one *sanjak*, or standard, of green silk, and of the same form and size with Mahomet's standard,—and two large standards called *baïrak*. Other pashas, who are not honoured with the title of vizir, have two horse-tails with the other insignia. A bey with the standard has but one horse-tail. Others of an inferior order, called sanjak-beys, are allowed only one sanjak and no horse-tails.

The *bash-tchadir*, or pavillion of the grand vizir erected in the body of the camp, is encircled by canvas, so disposed as to resemble in some degree the walls and battlements of a castle, and so high as not to be overlooked. The chief

advantage of this kind of intrenchment is, however, that it prevents the inconvenience or disturbance which might be occasioned by men or other animals stumbling in the night time over the cords of the tent.

The pashas also surround their tents with an enclosure of the same kind, but only breast high, lest by too close an imitation of the magnificence of the vizir, they might seem to fail in the respect which is due to his exalted station. The tents are heavy and bulky: the conveyance of them occupies a considerable number of camels, horses, and mules, besides waggons drawn by oxen and buffaloes; so that if we form our opinion of the expedition of the Turks in their military operations from the nature of the animals which they employ, it must necessarily be unfavourable. As it requires a length of time to erect these moveable palaces, it is customary to have always two sets of tents, one of which is sent on the day before, so as to be prepared and ready for the reception of the grand vizir and the pashas on their arrival. The exterior ornaments of the *bash tchadir*, are a globe of gilded copper supporting a crescent, and a green cotton cloth which is spread over the upper part of the tent: the stakes and props are painted of the same colour; and an ornament peculiar to the grand vizir's tent, which no other officer however elevated in dignity dares assume, are garlands or festoons of crimson fringe, which are suspended between the stakes of the exterior enclosure, and the poles or columns which support the tent.

The grand vizir's tent is open towards the direction of the line of march of the army, and his *tughs*, or horse-tails, are planted on each side of the entrance. The ground in the inside of the tent is covered over with carpets, and surrounded on three sides with an elegant sopha. It is hung round with a kind of patchwork tapestry, composed of different pieces of stuffs of various colours, sewed together so as to represent wreaths of flowers and branches of trees. All the other tents of the people of rank are decorated in the same taste, and furnished in the same manner, but with more or less splendour, according to the dignity and authority of those who occupy them. Even the tents of the common men have their sheep skins, and cushions stuffed with wool or hemp, which answer the purposes of a sopha.

Method of supplying the army with provisions.

The due supply of the army with provisions, as it is an object of the first importance, was formerly regulated with judgment, and enforced with severity. Proper officers were appointed, and furnished with money, to procure, from the provinces nearest to the seat of war, the cattle and other necessary provisions, at a maximum fixed by the sultan's order. The pashas provided for themselves and their followers on the same terms as the sultan, who only furnished them with waggons, and other means of conveyance. But it appears from the report of Baron de Tott, that such is the ignorance or want of foresight of the commanders, that in their late campaigns, this essential duty was so ill performed, that the Ottoman army was always placed in the extremes of excess and waste, or of want and discontent; and Dr. Witt-

man likewise observed in the camp at Jaffa, that every essential arrangement in the establishment of dépôts and magazines was neglected.

Busbequius, in his survey of the Turkish camp, examined the state of the butchery, where sheep and cattle were killed and distributed to the janizaries. He expressed surprize at the small quantity of animal food consumed by them, for there were not more than four or five sheep for upwards of four thousand men: he was told that in general they preferred making use of the stock of provisions brought from Constantinople; and on enquiring of what those provisions consisted, they pointed out to him a janizary, who was preparing in an earthen dish a mixture of different kinds of vegetables with a sauce of vinegar and salt. "But hunger," says Busbequius, "gave it its truest seasoning, and to the abstemious soldier it appeared more delicious than pheasants and partridges to pampered luxury." His drink was the wholesome beverage of nature. Wine was strictly prohibited to be brought into the camp, and so sensible were the Turks of the irregularities which the free use of wine introduces among soldiers, that officers were usually dispatched to shut up the taverns, and to forbid by proclamation the sale of wine, in any town through which the army was to pass. The provisions furnished at the expence of government are, flour, bread, biscuit, rice, *bulgur* (or husked wheat), butter, and meat, for the men, and barley for the horses. When circumstances permit they bake fresh bread every day, in ovens dug in the earth, and distribute it to the soldiers in portions of a hundred drachms (somewhat less

than three quarters of a pound) per day: at other times they serve out biscuit, of which fifty drachms are a man's allowance, besides sixty drachms of beef or mutton, twenty five of butter, and fifty of rice or *bulgur*. The cook of each company of janizaries receives the total of the rations, and distributes them in two meals, one at eleven in the morning, and another at seven in the evening, to messes consisting of seven or eight persons. In addition to the ration which is regularly allowed them, they receive a moderate pay, which does not exceed a crown per month.

Order of march and battle.

An authentic document, preserved by Count Marsigli, will best explain the order of march, as it was formerly observed by a Turkish army. The advanced guard, consisting of Tartars and other irregular troops, were supported by the pashas of Romelia and Anatolia, and were placed under their command. The *serashier*, or lieutenant general of the vizir, followed with the troops and the pashas of Erzerum and Bosnia. Immediately after them came the *janizar aga* at the head of all the odas of janizaries. Then came the *topgi bashi* with the artillery, and the *gebegis* with the ammunition. The infantry of the provinces escorted their provision waggons. The beylerbeys and pashas followed in the rear of the provincial infantry. The *capiculy spahis*, of both the red and yellow standards, followed the provincial cavalry. Then came the grand vizir with the officers of the court and the ministers of state, who accompany him in his military expeditions. The provision waggons, each of them escorted by three foot soldiers, and the other baggage waggons were under the care of

the commander of the rear guard, who accompanied them to the camp, and who closed the march with four thousand men. The military march of the grand army is regulated by the vizir, whose orders are committed to writing by the clerks of his chancery, and are distributed to the different commanders by the officers under the controul of the *chaous bashi.*

When the Turkish army marches through the sultan's dominions they observe so little order, that provided every man arrives at the camp in time for the evening prayers, each may pursue his march alone, or in company, in the manner most agreeable to himself, and may stop to rest himself on the road whereever he pleases. The advanced guard usually consists of five or six thousand horse, of the best troops in the army: their commander is called the *kharcagy bashi:* they are usually seven or eight leagues before the main body, and if there be Tartars in the army they disperse themselves on all sides, and pillage wherever they pass.

The *alaï,* or marshalling of the troops, is a march of ceremony, in which the Ottomans display the greatest pomp and magnificence. When the pashas arrive at the place of general rendezvous, they each perform their respective *alaï,* which answers to a review: but in the general *alaï* the whole army is divided into five parts; the right and left wings, *sagh col* and *sol col:* the main body, *dib alaï:* the van, *kharcagy;* and the rear, *dondar.* In the front are the *serden guiechdi,* followed by the janizaries led on by their aga. After these, the great guns, guarded and

served by the *topgis* and *gebegis:* then the vizir, with his court and *segbani*, or guards of the baggage; on his right hand, the Asiatic horse, and on his left, the European. After the vizir comes the emperor, surrounded by his courtiers and his body guard of *bostangis;* the *spahis* of the red standard on his right, and on his left the *spahis* of the yellow. Then follow the military chests and provision waggons, with the company of merchants and artificers, who, by the imperial mandate, follow the camp, and furnish all the conveniences and luxuries of a city. The *dondar*, or bringers back, form the rear, and close the ceremony.

Their ancient order of battle was to form a kind of pyramid, the point of which was presented to the enemy. Few vacancies were left in the main body of the army, as the evolutions were chiefly made on the wings. The *serden guiechdi bashi* at the head of his desperadoes, consisting of about a thousand horse taken indifferently from the *capiculy* or the feudal troops, always formed the extreme point. They were supported by the beylerbeys of Romelia and Anatolia; the first on the right, and the second on the left, at the head of the European and Asiatic troops. The pashas commanding the militia of the distant provinces occupied the middle space. The grand vizir, with the infantry and artillery, formed the centre of the base; the timariots and zaïms, the extremities; and a corps de reserve, composed of spahis, terminated the whole. With this arrangement they marched to the attack, or they received the shock of the enemy. The *serden guiechdi* animated each other with their war shout of *Allah, allah.* If after three repeated charges they failed in

making an impression on the enemies line, they spread out to the right and left, and opened a greater front, which in like manner gradually enlarged itself if it became necessary. If they succeeded in breaking the first battalions, they took in flank those who had not been exposed to their onset.*

A spirit of emulation prevailed between the troops of Asia and Europe. Those who had been repulsedand dispersed made the greatest efforts in order to rally and return to the charge. If the cavalry was broken and scattered, the artillery opened upon the enemy, and by keeping up a heavy fire, gave time to the fugitives to recover themselves: there have been instances where they have renewed the fight with such a desperate valour, as even to snatch the victory from the hands of the enemy. It has also happened that the rear guard, engaged by oath to shed the last drop of blood in defence of the sacred standard of the prophet, has opposed the enemy with such determination as to give time to the broken troops to form anew, and thereby become masters of the field of battle. It is said to be from the jealousy of the other troops, who frequently saw the vanguard carry off all the honour of the victory, that this order of bat-

* *Serden guiechdi* signifies persons devoted to desperate undertakings. In theTurkish armies they form what in other countries are called *enfans perdus*, or the forlorn hope. Meninski explains the word in his dictionary by " caput non curans, exponens, voluntarius." They are better known by the name of *delhi*, which, as Rycaut justly says, signifies as much as a mad fellow or a Hector. They are however brave, determined, and enterprising. Those who enlist among the *serden guiechdi* receive an augmentation of ten aspers a day for each campaign.

tle was changed for that of a crescent; and to this alteration their own chiefs have attributed the ill success of the Ottoman arms.

The Turkish method of warfare is described by a traveller, who observed it during the last year of the war against Austria and Russia. The Turks, he says, who are represented as not possessing common sense in military affairs, nevertheless carry on war with some kind of method. They disperse themselves about, in order that the fire of the enemies battalions or artillery may not be directed against them: they take their aim with admirable precision, and direct their fire always against men collected in a body; masking their own manœuvres by their incessant firing: sometimes they intrench themselves in ravins or hollows, or conceal themselves upon trees; at other times they advance in several small companies, consisting of forty or fifty men, carrying a banderole or little flag, which they fix onwards in order to gain ground: the most advanced kneel down and fire, and fall back to reload their pieces; supporting each other in this manner, until upon an advantage, they rush forward, and advance their standard progressively. Such is their constant method; the different small bodies carefully observing a line or order in their progress, so as not to cover each other. The repeated shoutings and cries of Allah encourage the Mussulmans, and together with the immediate decapitation of the wounded who fall into their power, produce an effect which sometimes alarms and disheartens the Christian soldier.* Dr. Witt- Modes of fighting,

* " L'instinct des Turcs, qui vaut souvent mieux que l'esprit des Chrétiens, les rend

man condemns the employment of such a multiplicity of standards, banners, and flags, which, he says, the Turks suppose to have the effect of inspiring the enemy with terror and dismay: but as it appears from his journal that he had no opportunity of observing the Turks when actually engaged with the enemy, he probably may have exaggerated the inconvenience of these standards, though he justly stiles them trivial objects; yet perhaps they do not in any considerable degree diminish the effective force which otherwise would be brought into action, nor do they seem to shackle and impede the military operations in the field of battle.*

and of defending their fortresses.

I have heard Russian officers speak with eulogium of the active valour and address of the Turks, in their skirmishes with the loose troops and Cossaks, and of their persevering courage in the defence of their fortresses: but it requires the actual presence of danger to induce them to use precaution, or to introduce regularity into the performance of military duty in their garrisons. When the Russian army was approaching Ismael, General Suwarow, wishing to know the state of defence in the Turkish fortress, dispatched a few Cossaks, with orders to seize and bring away some person of the garrison. The Cossaks, under favour of the night, approached close to the wall of a battery, where the Turkish sentinel, after

adroits et capables de faire tous les métiers à la guerre. Mais ils n'ont que la premiere réflexion: ils ne sont pas susceptibles de la seconde, et après avoir dépensé leur moment de bon sens, assez juste, assez adroit, ils tiennent du fou et de l'enfant." (Voyage à Constantinople, p. 197.)

* See Dr. Wittman's Travels, p. 232.

having finished his pipe, was sitting cross-legged on one of the guns, and amusing himself with singing: his entertainment was interrupted by a rope with a slip knot, with which they pulled him to the ground, and dragged him away to the Russian head quarters. An officer, who was present, assured me, that when the man's apprehensions as to his personal safety were removed, he indulged in a hearty fit of laughter at the ridiculousness of his own capture.

Recapitulation.

If we may credit the Baron de Tott, (and as far as my observation guides me, his sprightly egotisms possess more veracity, than his remarks shew candour or judgment), we should place but little confidence in any of the tables, which some authors have exhibited, as a view of the effective military force of the Turks. Indeed what information can a stranger hope to derive from any means within his reach, when the vizir was obliged, in order to ascertain the state of his own army, to have recourse to the reports in the Vienna gazette.* If we reflect upon the disorders, which have been before enumerated as having insinuated themselves into the Turkish armies, and the confusion which is inseparable from them, we must feel convinced, that although the Turkish nation be individually brave, yet it is less to be wondered at that they are inefficient when united, than that they do not disband immediately after being collected together. According to the modern system of politics, which exhausts the wealth of the independent kingdoms of Europe by the necessary expences of maintaining a standing

* De Tott's Memoirs, V. iii. p. 181.

army, (greater in many instances than was formerly thought necessary for the defence of the Roman empire in the three parts of globe), the military power of the Turks may perhaps be considered as disproportionate to the vast extent of their dominions. Marsigli calculated the total effective force of their armies, or that which could be brought into service against a foreign enemy, at about a hundred and sixty thousand men, after deducting for those whom the public safety requires to be employed in the provinces and in guarding the high roads, and allowing for the fraudulent returns of the *toprakly* militia; an abuse which is now become so familiar, that in ordering levies the state itself scarcely dares to count upon raising more than half the number of men who are entered upon the public registers.* The *capiculy* are the

* I am justified in rejecting as inaccurate the details of the Turkish military force as published by Mr. Eton, but I acknowledge the justness of his concluding censure of their armies, (Survey, p. 72.) in which we find "none of those numerous details of a well-organized body, necessary to give quickness, strength, and regularity, to its actions, to avoid confusion, to repair damages, to apply every part to some use: nothing, as with us, the result of reasoning and combination, no systematic attack, defence, or retreat, no accident foreseen or provided for."

Marsigli, whose calculation though made a century ago is perhaps the most correct of any which have hitherto been published, divides the whole military force of the Ottomans into two classes, and estimates the number of each as follows.

The *capiculy* consists of infantry and cavalry: the infantry, composed of *janizaries, agemoglans, topgis, gebegis,* and *sakkas,* amounts to 58,864 men, of whom 21,426 *janizaries* are required for the garrisons and frontier towns: the cavalry, consisting of *spahis* and *chaouses,* amounts to 15,284. The feudal militia, or the total of the contingents of all the *pashaliks,* the *ziamets,* and the *timars,* amounts to 126,292: besides which the Tartars formerly furnished 12,000 tributary soldiers; and the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia 8000 men, but these should not be considered as soldiers, as they were chiefly employed in servile labour, and many of them carried only a spade

only part of the Turkish armies susceptible of such improvement in discipline and tactics, as to become capable of opposing in the field the regular troops of Christendom; and their number, from the limited revenues of the sultan, must always be inadequate to any great undertaking, or any efficacious resistance. The *toprakly* soldiery, being untaught and undisciplined, do not seem to merit a higher estimation than the provincial militia of the Christian states, and, on a review of the disposable force of the Ottoman empire, should scarcely be taken into account; but to an invading army they oppose a resistance by no means to be despised. Every motive of enthusiasm, patriotism, and private interest, confirms the aversion of the Turks to the dominion of foreigners. In our own time the inhabitants of Bosnia, Albania, and Croatia, a hardy and warlike race, have successfully defended their religion and their country against the disciplined troops of the Emperor of Germany: and the French armies in Egypt met with more obstinate resistance from an armed yeomanry, than they have since experienced in traversing the most warlike countries of Europe. The volunteers of Mecca, undismayed at the conquest of Lower Egypt, came, at their own risk and their own expence, to attack a people of infidels. Armed with their lances, their daggers, and their fire-arms, they attacked with courage and resisted with obstinacy: though mortally wounded their zeal and their animosity were unabated: and Denon saw one of these determined patriots wound two French soldiers, while they held him, pierced through the body

and pickaxe. The *serratcly* cannot be calculated, as they were enlisted only in time of war, and in such numbers as the service required. (See Stato militare dell'impèrio Ottomanno, V. i. pp. 90. 134.)

with their bayonets, against a wall. It is pleasing to contrast the energies of an independent people with the slavish submission of those, who see nothing but a change of governors in the subjugation of their country. The *fellahs* of Egypt, a race of people still more abject than the *rayahs* of Turkey, withheld their contributions from the French, as they formerly had done from the Mamelukes, until they discovered by the blows which were inflicted on them, that the rights of their former tyrants were transferred to their conquerors. But the *ojakli*, or householders, no less than the feudal proprietors, fought with valour, undiminished by the want of success, from the ruined walls of Alexandria, to the ancient Roman frontier of Syene. The language of the historian bears unequivocal testimony to their patriotic virtue. Alexandria was taken by storm: the besiegers left two hundred soldiers in the breach, through which they entered: but of the besieged none fled, they fell with glory on the spot which they had failed in defending.* With such examples before our eyes, we may be permitted to question the facility of subduing a people, whose country, from its very nature, must encourage their exertions and protect their independence. "The allied nations of Europe have only to march," says Count Marsigli, "their greatest difficulty will be to divide the conquered country."† But though we now discover, since the blaze of the Ottoman power has subsided, that their former conquests were the chastisements of divine justice for the sins of Christendom, and that the sultans never were,

* Denon, Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Egypte, V. i. pp. 48. 223.

† Stato militare dell' impèrio Ottomanno, V. ii. p. 199.

and never will be, strong in their own might; yet it perhaps still remains to be discovered whether a people, who would refuse to obey even their sultans if they ordered them to renounce their possessions in favour of a stranger, and whose country from the difficulty of forming magazines affords no facilities to the invader, —whether such a people, in spite of the acknowledged debility of the empire, would not give ambition cause to repent of its insatiable thirst of conquest.

War, in its mildest form, is a continual violation of justice and humanity: but the Turks have been reproached with systematic cruelty, and premeditated breach of faith. It is however untrue, that the Turkish laws of warfare condemn all the prisoners to death; for captives were always esteemed the most valuable part of the booty, and quarter was seldom refused to the submissive, unless danger was apprehended from the number of the prisoners, or the irruption of an enemy prevented their being carried off. All the riches of a city taken by storm are usually pr...sed by the emperors to the soldiers, and they reserve to themselves only the buildings and the government. To this cause is to be attributed the too frequent breach of treaty, or the murdering of prisoners contrary to capitulation. Cantemir says, that "if a garrison are to lay down their arms, and only a knife or a hatchet is found on any one, the Turks immediately call out, that the treaty is broken, and butcher their defenceless enemies." But though it be certainly better for Christians to perish fighting, and with arms in their hands, than to experience such treachery; yet, even in these instances, the chiefs must be acquitted of duplicity. Sub-

Turkish laws of war.

ordination, at such moments, is loose, and the commanders, even the sultans themselves, must frequently have been compelled to yield to the violence of the soldiery; who, as their chief object was plunder, must, when the danger was past, have seen with regret the property slip out of their hands, and endeavour by artifice to recover it.* The infraction of the treaty, made by Mahomet the Fourth with the emperor of Germany, is supposed, by pious Mussulmans, to have been the effective cause of all the subsequent disgrace of their armies, and the misfortunes of their empire: therefore I doubt, and even venture to contradict, the assertion, "that this sentence of the ulema, with thousands more of the same kind, stands on record, that a treaty, made with the enemies of God and his prophet, might be broken; there being nothing so worthy a Mahometan, as to undertake the entire destruction of Christians."†

The treatment of prisoners, considered as private property, consequently varies according to the passions of the captor: that of public prisoners is indeed deserving of reprobation. I have seen them, in the bagnio, loaded with irons, coupled with the vilest felons, and beaten to common labour, with the same undistinguishing inhumanity. The prisoners of their own nation are abandoned

* "Ce n'est pas aux principes du *cour'ann* qu'il faut attribuer les excès qui leur sont justement reprochés; ils sont l'effet nécessaire de l'insubordination des troupes, de la férocité du soldat, sur-tout quand il est victorieux, et d'une foule de circonstances absolument étrangères aux lois de l'Islamisme." (Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. 303.)

† Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 109.

to the mercy of their enemies: the Turkish government expresses no anxiety as to their fate: they are neither ransomed, nor exchanged: and their Christian conquerors condemn them to a state of slavery, with no compassion to alleviate their sufferings, and no hope, however distant, of deliverance.*

Turkish navy.

The Turkish forces at sea have always been contemptible. During the siege of Constantinople, their navy, consisting of three hundred vessels, was baffled by one Imperial, and four Genoese, ships, which threw succours of men and supplies of provisions into the capital. Sandys says "that they did not hazard the revenue of Egypt by sea, for fear of the Florentines, who, with six ships, had kept the bottom of the Straits for three years." Their disasters, in their several sea-fights with the Venetians and the Russians, are well known; and in their late co-operation with the English, during the Egyptian campaign, the contrast was striking, between

* Denon thus describes the joy of the Turkish prisoners in Malta on being released by the French. "Pour prendre une idée de leur extrême satisfaction dans cette circonstance, il faut savoir que leur gouvernement ne les rachetoit et ne les échangeoit jamais, que leur esclavage n'étoit adouci par aucun espoir; ils ne pouvoient pas même rêver la fin de leurs peines." (V. i. p. 27.)

As I have not had the advantage of travelling in Italy, I must quote Mr. Griffiths with caution. He says, (p. 11.) that in the prisons of Genoa "he beheld the very lowest pitch of human wretchedness and degradation! A number of aged Turks were chained to the wall in stone recesses, at a short distance from each other; and some, still more aged, in cells, so low that they were never able to stand upright! Many of these men of misery appeared to have lost all sense or recollection; and one, who particularly attracted my attention, had counted no less than twenty-seven years of captivity."

the beauty of their ships, and the ignorance and timidity of their officers and people.

Mr. Eton, and Mr. Griffiths in a still more recent publication, venture to describe the present state of the Turkish navy, from the remarks of Baron de Tott, or from their own transient observation, made twenty years ago. The Turks, indeed, although the *canon namé* of Sultan Soliman contains many regulations for the improvement of their navy, yet considered it as an object of inferior importance, until the destruction of their fleet by the Russians in the harbour of Tcheshmeh. Since that event the government has always occupied itself seriously in the establishment of a respectable naval force, and the zeal which the celebrated Hassan Pasha first displayed in this branch of service, has been inherited by all who have succeeded him in the post of *capudan pasha:* so that now such language as the following cannot be applied with truth to any department of the marine service of the Ottomans. "High-decked vessels, the lower tier laid under water with the least wind, entangled rigging, bad cordage and pullies, thirty men in the gun-room to move the tiller, encumbered decks, and guns without equality in the calibre." *

I went on board some ships of war on their return from a cruise in the Black Sea, in the year 1790, and certainly saw a confusion which it is impossible to describe. It was a perfect

* See De Tott's Memoirs, V. iii. p. 20.

bazar, or market place, and shops were erected all round the between-decks, with no apparent intention of removing them. De Tott says, with an affected levity, which is highly unbecoming when describing the manners of a nation, " that the proposition to lower the decks was rejected, *on account of the height of their turbans*, and that of raising the mast, because it would occasion the vessel to heel, *and incommode the crew.*"* But the fault was in those who suggested such improvements, without sufficiently correcting the pertness of manner, which outweighed, at least in the estimation of Turks, the merit of their advice. Why should improvements, so evidently necessary, have been rejected, at the same period, when, upon proposing a new school for mathematics, it was immediately established. Upon pointing out the use of the bayonet, the bayonet was adopted. Upon De Tott's suggestion, a machine was erected for masting vessels. A new foundery of cannon was built. A body of artillery-men was instituted, and forts were erected on the northern shores of the Bosphorus, to secure the passage of the Black Sea. The mildness of manners of a French ship-builder of the name of Le Brun,† whom Hussein Pasha engaged in the Ottoman service, removed every obstacle to the exertion of his great abilities, and

* Memoirs, V. iii. p. 178.

† This gentleman is now in the service of the emperor of Russia. His talents may be appreciated by Englishmen, as he built the Commerce de Marseilles, a first-rate ship of very large dimensions, now in our service.

in a short space of time a complete reform was introduced into the department, which he superintended.

Their navy now consists of several good ships, built by Europeans, or from European models, but manned by people unaccustomed to the sea. They have not yet formed any plan for educating and training up seamen, though the Propontis is well adapted for naval evolutions, and might be made an excellent school of practical avigation. Their officers, not having passed through the different ranks, merit no higher estimation than the common men; indeed almost the whole business of the ship is performed by the slaves, or by Greeks who are retained upon wages. Those accustomed to the strict subordination, and punctilious formalities established in the armies and navies of other European powers, may smile perhaps at hearing, that the captain of a man of war has been cuffed in public by the admiral's own hand for a slight offence.* I remember too to have seen a journal kept by an Englishman,

* " Dans tous, ce caractère fier et hautain se porte, à la moindre occasion, à une pétulance incroyable. Rien chez eux n'arrête les élans de la nature, même parmi les hommes de la plus grande distinction. Dans son emportement le père, le mari, le maître, le patron, le général, l'officier, l'homme public, l'homme privé, se fait le plus souvent justice lui-même, soit en frappant de la main ou du bâton l'objet de sa colère, soit en l'effrayant par des menaces accompagnées d'injures les plus atroces. C'est alors qu'ils prodiguent sans ménagement les épithètes de *dimsiz*, *imannsiz*, homme sans foi, sans loi; de *kcavour* et de *kcafir*, infidèle, blasphémateur; de *kiopek* et de *domouz*, chien, porc; mais sur-tout le jurement national *anassiny sikéim*, que la décence ne nous permet pas de traduire," (Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. 371.)

(an adventurer who served on board the Turkish fleet in the Black Sea, during a cruise in the year 1790,) which contained the following remark. "This day the admiral amused himself with playing at chess on the quarter-deck with a common sailor."

CHAPTER VI.

FINANCES OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND REVENUES OF THE SULTAN.

System of finance under the feudal government.—Divisions of the Turkish exchequer.—Public treasury.—Sources of revenue;—land-tax,—property-tax,—customs,—poll-tax,—monopoly,—mines,—escheats and forfeitures,—coinage,—tribute.—Expenditure of the public treasure.—Sultan's revenues, fixed and casual.—Doweries and pensions.—Nizami djedid.

System of finance under the feudal government.

In reviewing the state of the Turkish finances, it must first of all be considered, that many of the expences with which the treasuries of more regular governments are burthened, are there sufficiently provided for by the arrangements of the feudal system; and indeed, according to the spirit of its original institution, every establishment, whether calculated for internal utility, or for defence against foreign enemies, was upheld by a competent assignment of landed property. Perhaps the chief inducement for the adoption of the feudal system, with a warlike people unskilled in the art of con-

ducting financial operations, was that it enabled them to support their numerous armies without levying taxes for their pay. An assignment of lands, involving the condition that the possessor shall remain in readiness to take the field at the call of the sovereign, is in itself a military pay; and the Turkish exchequer issued no other to its soldiery until the institution of the corps of janizaries.* In like manner, the condition of keeping in order the national establishments was imposed on the governors of the provinces to the extent of their jurisdiction; and adequate assignments of the national domain were made to them for the purpose: hence neither the army, nor the administration of justice, the police, public worship, the building or repairing of public edifices, fortresses, mosques, arsenals, bridges, nor high roads, are kept up in the provinces at the expense of the grand signor. The establishment of the janizaries was first superinduced upon the general plan. Being considered as the body-guards, or standing army, of the sultan, their head quarters and fixed residence were in his capital, and they were maintained from his treasury as a part of the Imperial household. The necessity of a naval force when the conquest of Constantinople was projected, obliged the sultan to assign a portion of his peculiar treasure for its creation and maintenance: but, besides the marine forces, the janizaries and other similar bodies of regular troops, no other parts of the national establishments were supported from the Imperial treasury.

* Hic rerum est ordo, hæc distributio—sic ut faciles inexhaustæque bello copiæ adsint, quotidianæque pro eisdem alendis pecuniæ cura levetur imperator, ut nullum ob bellum consueta ex magnificentia vel sumptibus quicquam intermittere cogatur. (Montalban. ap. Elzevir, p. 16.)

Divisions of the Turkish exchequer.

The Turkish exchequer consists of two parts; the *miri*, which is employed in collecting and receiving the public revenues and in disbursing such sums as the public service requires, and the *hazné* or sultan's treasury. The former under the administration of the *defterdar effendi*, and the latter under that of the *hazné vekili*, a black eunuch second in official rank to the *kislar aga*. The revenues of each may be divided into fixed and casual: those of the *miri* are generally estimated at three millions three hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds sterling, *communibus annis*.* Mr. Eton has given a schedule of the revenue in greater detail, which, in result, somewhat exceeds the sum allowed by Cantemir, and which wants only the merit of accuracy.† I do not pretend to give a correct account of the Turkish finances, and I believe few Europeans in Turkey possess the means of obtaining it: but as

* I have taken this amount of the Turkish finances from Cantemir, who indeed says (p. 170, note), that in his time "there were brought yearly into the *two treasuries* twenty-seven thousand purses, each containing five hundred rixdollars:" but as I find that Count Marsigli, who appears to have had access to the public registers, estimates the revenues of the *miri* alone at 28,272 purses, (See stato milit. V. ii. p. 179.) I must suppose the apparent disagreement in their computations to be occasioned only by an inaccuracy of expression. De Tott (V. iii. p. 135.) agrees with Cantemir, and fixes the revenue at 3,900,000*l.* sterling. Olivier says (V. i. p. 24.) that the revenues of the *miri* and the sultan, which are annually paid into the treasuries of Constantinople, amount to 150 millions of livres, besides 50 millions from the revenues of mosques and from casual sources. Motraye (V. i. p. 255.) calculates the total receipts of both treasuries at 36,000,000 of piastres, or 9,000,000*l.* sterling according to the value of Turkish money in his time.

† "Total of the revenue of the empire, or public treasury called the *miri*, 44,942,500 piastres, or about 4,494,250*l.* sterling." (Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 47.)

Mr. Eton declares "that he reasons only from facts, and trusts the impartial reader will draw the same conclusions," it may perhaps not be thought superfluous to examine the merit of the facts themselves, which form the basis of his reasonings.

Mr. Eton comprehends among the sources of revenue collected by the *miri*, in the rear of a formidable list of Turkish words, *haremein hasinesi*, and *sherifein hasinesi*: but as far as can be collected from the meaning of the words themselves, they must signify the rents of *vacuf*, or pious donations for the support of mosques and the service of religion in the holy city of Mecca, which are administered by the chief eunuch: they are however by no means under the controul of the officers of either of the departments of the exchequer; the *miri* or the *hazne*. The coffer in which the revenues of the *vacufs* are collected, to the amount of several millions, is called *harémeïnn dolaby*, and is deposited in the seraglio under the care of the *kislar aga*, and strictly guarded. It is wrong to represent these treasures as "sums taken from the active and efficient capital of the nation, and either wholly unemployed, or appropriated to uses which cannot be supposed to have a very direct relation to the necessities of the state;" for, on the contrary, without deviating from the intentions of the founders, or violating the essential clauses of their charters, that part of the revenue of *vacufs* which remains after the religious uses are satisfied, might afford essential succour to the state, if economy and fidelity were employed in administering it. In times of public distress the sultans occasionally apply these funds to the necessities of government, but under the form of a loan and the solemn engagement of

the minister of finance, who, in the name of the sultan and the empire, binds the state to the payment of so sacred a debt.*—The haratch, or capitation tax imposed on the *rayahs*, is improperly called by Mr. Eton "the annual redemption of the lives of all the males above fifteen years of age, who do not profess the Mahometan religion:"†—he inserts among the cities and places which contribute to the *haratch*, "the Morea and its five jurisdictions;"‡ and

* See Survey of the Turkish empire, pp. 40, 41. Tableau Général, V. ii. p. 541. The grand vizir Kioprili Mustafa Pasha first brought the treasures of the *jamis* into the public treasury: and when the *mutevelly* charged him with sacrilege, he insisted that the wealth, designed for religious uses, ought to be employed in maintaining the defenders of the holy edifices. (Cantemir, p. 367.)

† See Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 41.—It is with much regret that I feel myself compelled, from a respect for truth, to declare that Dr. Wittman's account of a conversation which he held with me at Buyukdéré (see Travels, p. 28) is wholly inaccurate. A person who, like myself, had resided many years in Turkey, could never have "comprehended under the general denomination of *rayah*, the Greek and Armenian subjects of the grand signor *and every description of Franks.*" Still less could I have so far adopted Mr. Eton's errors, and even have borrowed his language, as to assert "that the *haratch* is considered as the redemption of the heads of the *rayahs*, which were forfeited in perpetuity by their subjugated ancestors." The *haratch* is simply a poll-tax, of the same nature as that imposed upon the English in the reign of Richard the Second: it is levied not only on the Greeks and Armenians, who were conquered by the Turks, but also on the Jews, who were protected by Turkish hospitality when they fled from the persecutions of the Christians.

Dr. Wittman has also made me pronounce a very florid panegyric on the modern Greeks; but though I had read Mr. Eton's work while I was in Turkey, yet it had made so light an impression on my memory, that I must have spoken from the same inspiration as himself, if I could have amused Dr. Wittman by the misrepresentations which he has attributed to me.

‡ Dr. Pouqueville possessed means of obtaining information respecting the Morea superior to those of preceding travellers, and therefore his testimony must, at present,

he taxes separately Napoli di Romania, though a city of the Morea, and consequently within those jurisdictions.*—Oczacow is said to have furnished ninety purses; though Oczacow was a fortress garrisoned only by Turks, who consequently were not liable to the capitation.—But, what is singularly ridiculous is that he estimates the contributions from the body of gypsies, to be almost equal to that from the city of Constantinople and its environs.†—

be admitted as conclusive. Now it appears that the Morea, instead of containing five separate jurisdictions, is united under the jurisdiction of a pasha of three tails, and subdivided into twenty-four cantons, governed by *codja bashis* or elders. (See Voyages en Morée, &c. V. i. p. 67.)—The whole of Greece is divided into four great *pashaliks*; Tripolizza, Egripo or Negropont (the ancient Eubœa), Yanina, and Salonica. The pashalik of Tripolizza comprises all the Morea; that of Egripo, the island whence it derives its name, besides Bœotia and the eastern part of Phocis; Yanina, the whole of Epirus; and Salonica, the southern division of Macedonia. The north of Macedonia is governed by *beys*; Naupactus (or Lepanto) gives to its governor the title of pasha; Athens and Livadia are administered by vaivodas; Larissa by a musselim; and Zagora (the ancient Magnesia) by its own primates. Pieria is dependent on the *aga* of Katherin, who now rules over Olympus in the place of Jupiter. (See Beaujour, Tab. du commerce de la Grèce, V. i. p. 24.)

* It is a curious circumstance that the schedule of the Turkish finances and the Memoirs of the Baron de Tott should both contain so gross a geographical error. The Turks *know* that the peninsula of the Morea is not formed by the Gulf of Napoli, but by the Gulfs of Lepanto and Egina, which by almost meeting make the Isthmus of Corinth. Could Mr. Eton's deference for the Baron de Tott seduce him into a belief that "the peninsula of the Morea is formed by the Gulf of Lepanto, and by that which takes its name from the city of Napoli di Romania which stands at the bottom of it?" (See De Tott's Memoirs, V. iv. p. 150.)

† I suspect that the schedule itself is an incorrect copy of some account composed by the Russian mission at Constantinople, by orders from the court of St. Petersburg, as it seems calculated to convey to the empress a contemptible idea of the Ottoman empire, by stating the number of male gypsies, above fifteen years of age, at 336,250.

Confiscation and inheritances, the spunge, which we have been taught to believe is the chief engine by which the grand signor absorbs the wealth of his subjects, yields under the pressure of his mighty hand, only one thousand three hundred and twenty-seven purses (about forty thousand pounds sterling), an inconsiderable drop, compared to the rivers of wealth which flow through every province of his extensive dominions.

The consequences which Mr. Eton deduces from his statement are, that "the present state of the Turkish finances is incompatible with the permanence or prosperity of the state, and that the future prospect is still less promising." "The expenditure," he says, "has so much increased that it is not probable the *miri* can discharge its debts without a donation from the treasury of the sultan, a measure which does not enter into the policy of the seraglio. Here then we are to consider the probable consequences of a deficiency in its treasury, to a government which knows nothing of the financial provisions of modern politics, and consequently will be totally unprepared for such a conjuncture."

To those who are unacquainted with the natural and abundant fertility of the Turkish provinces in general, it may indeed appear that the revenues of the sultan are insufficient for the support of his armies, and the maintenance of his establishments; but when it is recollected, that the Turks are from their infancy habituated to privations which to the European soldier would be intolerable, that wine and other spirituous or fermented liquors are prohibited in their camps, that to them a moderate ration of bread or Indian

corn with a few black olives is a delicious and ample repast, that most of them neither carry knapsacks nor have they the least occasion for them, and that even the want of a tent is scarcely felt as an inconvenience to them, accustomed as they are to sleep in the open air enveloped in their thick *capots* or cloaks; when all these things are taken into consideration it must be evident, that the Porte can keep in the field an army of a hundred thousand men, with less expense than any prince in Christendom can maintain a third of the number. I instance only the standing army, which the Turks, in imitation of the European states, feel the necessity of augmenting, for every other establishment of magnificence or use may be still supported by the means which were originally assigned for that purpose, and which, though indeed diminished, are not inadequate to their object.

Public treasury.

Under the general controul of the *defterdar effendi*, there are thirty three offices, or chanceries, each superintended by its proper officer: in these are collected all the income, tribute, and customs of the empire; and thence the different expenditures are issued.

Sources of revenue; land tax.

The chief sources of revenue are—The *miri*, or territorial impost levied on the whole empire, which is one tenth of the produce of lands. The whole of this tax, though registered in the books of the office, and calculated at about twenty millions sterling, is not paid into the Imperial treasury: the greater part is detained in the provinces, and regularly accounted for among the expenses of administration, and keeping up the national establishments.

The *cazy-asker* of Romelia takes cognizance of whatever concerns the exchequer: the *miri kiatibi*, one of his deputies, holds his court in the office of the *defterdar effendi*, and judges definitively all fiscal suits.*

property tax,

Rayahs, or persons subject to the payment of the haratch, pay also a tax on moveables: it is levied on their personal property and the produce of their industry; on hearths or houses, farms, warehouses, and shops: it appears to be unequally and arbitrarily imposed, and is estimated by those who pay it at a quarter of the clear produce of their gains. Women are exempt from payment of the *haratch*, but their property, consisting either of lands or merchandize, is equally with that of the men, subject to the payment of both these taxes.†

customs,

The customs on the importation and exportation of merchandize form another principal branch of revenue. They are chiefly farmed, and are collected throughout the empire with mildness and moderation. "These legal imposts," Mr. Eton says, "are but a small part of what the merchant pays. Foreigners indeed," continues he, "are, in all countries, more liable to imposition than the natives." But from this general accusation he should have excepted Turkey, as there the Frank merchant pays only three per cent. on the value of his importations, and has the privilege, if grieved by an over estimation, of paying in kind.

* See Beaujour, Tab. du commerce de la Grèce, V. i. p. 46. Cantemir's Ottoman history, p. 307. note. Olivier says, (V. i. p. 190.) that the quit rent paid by the Mussulman subjects amounts to one seventh of the produce of their lands, and that paid by the *rayahs* to one fifth.

† See Pouqueville, Voyages en Morée, &c. V. i. p. 232.

The natives, or at least the rayahs are taxed five per cent., and are sometimes farther imposed upon by an unfair evaluation. *

The *haratch*, or capitation tax on *rayahs*, is felt as a grievance only from the mode of collecting it, which subjects the passenger in the public streets to the repeated and insolent examination of his certificate by the tax-gatherers. The male Christian and Jew subjects pay the *haratch* from the age of twelve years to their death. The heaviest contribution does not exceed thirteen piastres a year, the lightest is four piastres, and they are rated according to the rank in life and circumstances of the subject. The sum levied on individuals in consequence of this exaction has varied at different periods, and the age at which persons become liable to the payment of it is, even at this time, so undetermined, that in the provinces, the male children born in the cities are not rated until they are eight years old, while those in the villages pay it from the age of five years. Cantemir says, that it is enjoined by the law of the Koran, that every male shall pay yearly thirteen drachms of pure silver when he becomes of a ripe age, and chooses to remain a subject of the empire without being obliged to profess the Mahometan religion. Under the first Turkish emperors of Constantinople this sum was increased to three rix dollars, and was augmented or diminished at poll-tax,

* See Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 56.

Rara per imperium vectigalia, exiguaque portoria, hæc defraudantibus, geminandum est tantum vectigal debitum. (Montalbanus, ap. Elzevir, p. 41.)

" Tous les négocians Européens établis à Constantinople et dans les principales échelles du Levant, paient des droits beaucoup plus modiques que les nationaux eux-mêmes. (Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. 211.) See also on the subject of the custom-duties, Chardin's Travels, p. 72, and Peyssonnel in refutation of De Tott. (Appendix, p. 209.)

pleasure under their successors, until the grand vizir Kioprili Mustafa Pasha established three proportionate rates of payment, and ordered that rayahs of the first class should pay annually ten piastres, those of middling fortunes six, and the poorer sort three piastres, and this regulation was generally observed. Motraye travelled in the Morea after it had been ceded to the Venetians by the treaty of Carlovitz, and heard the Greeks, as Sandys predicted they would, regret the dominion of their former masters. "When we obeyed the Turks," said they, "we enjoyed all possible liberty on paying the moderate contribution of three or four crowns, which to the most opulent among us was never increased above ten. No greater burthens were imposed upon us either in peace or war, and on these terms we were indulged in the free exercise of our religion, and the practice of our respective professions." *

* "A l'égard de leurs femmes et de leurs filles, quelque riches qu'elles soient, elles en sont toujours exemptes, et leurs garçons ne le payent que lorsqu'ils sont censés en état de gagner leur vie." (See Voyages de M. de la Motraye, V. i. pp. 234, 319.)

"Quand le père d'un petit Grec veut chicaner, les percepteurs mesurent la tête de l'enfant avec une corde qui leur sert de toise; et comme ils peuvent raccourcir la corde à volonté, le pauvre Grec a toujours tort. Ces percepteurs sont des vieillards qui ont l'œil si exercé, qu'ils lisent la condition d'un homme sur sa physionomie. Jamais un seul raya ne leur échappe; mais ils ne demandent jamais deux fois le haratch au même individu.—Le taux du haratch varie suivant la richesse. (A Salonique) 1600 individus paient 11 piastres; 2500, 6 piastres; et 2000, 2 piastres $\frac{3}{4}$." (Beaujour, Tab du commerce de la Grèce. V. i. p. 51.)

"If a Christian or a Jew asks the mufti by a fetwa, how much tribute he is to pay yearly? he will be told, that according to the law of the Koran, he is to pay but thirteen drachms of pure silver. But if, relying upon this, he refuses to comply with the other impositions laid upon him, he will immediately be seized, and the same mufti will justify by a fetwa, the punishment which will be inflicted on him for his disobedience to the sultan's commands." (Cantemir, p. 366. note.)

If the total produce of this tax could be accurately ascertained, it would still form but an unsteady basis, on which to found our calculations as to the number of the tributary subjects of the Turkish empire: for with respect to many districts, the contributions which are levied upon the rayahs and paid into the sultan's exchequer are invariably the same, whatever be the state of population; and are at this day equal in amount to what they were when they were first established on the conquest of the country.

The price of each certificate consequently varies in proportion to the number of the tributary inhabitants of a district: accordingly we find, on comparing the price of the haratch in the island of Cyprus with that in the most fertile parts of Thessaly, (which two places exhibit the extremes of population in Turkey), that while individuals in Cyprus are taxed twelve piastres, the rayahs of Thessaly pay only two piastres and a half per head. This however is not the case in the capital: the rayahs there have been denominated free and happy, when their condition has been compared with that of the tributary subjects who are placed at a greater distance from the centre of this vast monarchy. The payment of the legal taxes is indeed enforced with no less rigour than in the remotest provinces, but the more immediate presence of the sovereign protects the rayahs from extortions practised in the name, and under the authority, of government. The amount of the capitation tax is therefore levied on the inhabitants of the metropolis in its due and legal proportions, and being carried to account in the public registers conformably with the certificates issued, must represent with tolerable precision the state of the

rayah population within the circuit or jurisdiction of the capital; and if it do not enable us to ascertain the number of the inhabitants, may at least assist us in forming a judgment on the accuracy of results from other calculations. Now it has been asserted in a late publication, that the total population of the city of Constantinople does not amount to three hundred thousand souls, and this conclusion is said to be drawn from calculations founded on the annual consumption of corn, and cattle; the number of deaths within the city, and the extent of ground which it occupies. But the same author has ascertained the receipts of the *haratch* in Constantinople and its environs to be two thousand nine hundred and sixteen purses, or about a million and a half of piastres; therefore, on taking six piastres as the medium contribution, and one rayah in four as subject to this tax, we shall find that the number of tributary inhabitants alone, which is confessedly inferior to that of the Mahometans, amounts nearly to a million of souls. Again if we compare the result of the receipts of the haratch for Romelia and Anatolia with the total population of the empire, according to the statements of both as given by the same author, we shall be scarcely less astonished at their divergency. The total of the revenues arising from the *haratch* is asserted to be about twenty millions of piastres, which, according to the proportion before established, should correspond with a population of between thirteen and fourteen millions: but what a vast disagreement between this conclusion, which respects the rayahs alone, and the total population of the Ottoman empire, as estimated by the same author! "If we take it for granted," he says, "that there were fifty millions of people on the continent two centuries

ago," (which indeed must be considered as the maximum of the population of Turkey when in its most flourishing state), " that the births are to the burials as twelve to ten, or that one in thirty six die every year in the common course of mortality, or that the number of births to the living are as one to twenty six, twenty seven, or twenty eight, or any calculation more favourable to the increase of population, we shall still find the mortality occasioned by the plague, taken on an average, would reduce these fifty millions to little more than ten at this day." * But the progress of depopulation, in countries so productive and so favourably situated as are those which compose the Ottoman empire, is infinitely over-rated in this calculation. The errors of government, to which even the existence of the plague is to be attributed, are combated and extenuated by the vigorous fecundity of nature: under the most faulty and depraved system of administration, a genial climate and a luxuriant soil animate the human race to bear up against tyranny and oppression; and in spite of all the excesses of arbitrary power, the intolerance of fanaticism, and the madness of superstition, the bounties of nature diffused over the smiling vallies of Europe and Asia, continue to encourage industry and alleviate labour; and sooth almost into the forgetfulness of misery, an inexhaustible succession of native inhabitants.

The public treasury is also augmented by the produce of monopolies, as in the instance of bread-corn, which the grand

* See Survey of the Turkish empire, pp. 41, 45, 272, 279, 280, 283.

signor receives from the provinces, at a very low rate, and sells out in retail to the bakers, at such prices as he thinks proper to fix.

The general evils of vicious administration are augmented by the limitations which are imposed by government, not only on the exportation of native produce necessary for the support of life, but on its free circulation through the different parts of the Turkish empire: and no regulation is more injudicious than the arbitrary fixation of the price and other conditions of sale between the dealer and the purchaser. The corn-trade at Constantinople is under the inspection of the *istambol effendi*, a magistrate of the order of *ulema*, to whom is confided the ordinary government and civil jurisdiction of the metropolis: his *naïb* presides in the office called *un capan*, which is situated on the shore of the harbour between the Seraglio point, and the *Fanal*. All ships loaded with grain, whether from the Black Sea or the Archipelago, discharge their cargoes at this wharf. The *naïb* keeps a register of the quantity delivered, and after fixing the price to the merchant, distributes the corn to the bakers in such quantities and on such terms as he judges proper. Private monopolies are not tolerated; and indeed the primary motive of government in subjecting the corn trade to such pernicious regulations, was to prevent the evils arising from forestalling the necessary articles of human subsistence. No individual is therefore permitted to lay up corn in his magazines in order to resell it with greater profit, and there are not even any granaries or warehouses in Constantinople properly

constructed for such speculations. * Among the many inconveniences of this system may be reckoned, the long detention of merchant vessels to the great detriment of their cargoes, the violent measures which are occasionally employed, to compel the bakers to receive a larger quantity of corn, than the sheds, which serve them instead of warehouses, are fitted to preserve from injury, and the inevitable consequence of unwholesome bread being sometimes distributed to the public; not to mention the losses sustained, in the frequent fires which desolate the capital of the empire, from the destruction of great quantities of corn thus exposed in wooden buildings. Since the treaty of Kainargik, which opened the Black Sea to the commerce of foreign nations, vessels which have taken in cargoes from the Russian ports, or have loaded the produce of Hungary brought down the Danube, are allowed the free passage of the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, in order to convey their merchandize to the sea-ports of the Mediterranean, if it be not found advantageous to dispose of the cargoes to the *miri* at Constantinople. This privilege of treating with the *miri*, instead of being forced to submit to terms calculated only with a view to the convenience or benefit of government, is so important, that I have known ships, which had surreptitiously loaded

* " Les Turcs sont aussi extrêmement circonspects sur la vente des bleds. Il est défendu sur peine de la vie d'en transporter hors du pays, n'y même d'en vendre dans les maisons particulières, et pour empêcher que cela ne puisse arriver on met des gardes dans le marché public, qui n'en laissent point emporter à moins qu'on n'ait un billet du *naïb* ou lieutenant de police, qui ne permet jamais un achat de plus de quatre muids à la fois ; et si un paysan étoit convaincu d'avoir vendu son bled à un Chrétien, il n'en seroit pas quitte pour cin biens coups de bâton." (Dumont, Nouveau voyage au Levant. A la Haye 1694, p. 165.)

wheat, the produce of the Turkish provinces, to come to the Russian port of Odessa, and subject themselves to the delays and expenses of performing quarantine, paying the harbour fees and custom-house duties, for no other purpose than to obtain a certificate of their cargo being the produce of Russia, and thereby rescuing it from the vexations and extortions of the officers of the Turkish *miri*.

The provinces the most fertile in grain, such as Volo, Salonica, Rodosto, Cara Aghatz, Varna, &c., are obliged to furnish to the officers of the grand signor a quantity of wheat, equal to about the twelfth part of the produce of their harvests. This contribution is called *istira*: the officers commissioned to collect the emperor's dues (who are usually the *capigi bashis*, or chamberlains of his court) are called *istiragi*, or *mubaïagi* which signifies a purchaser on public account. The *istiragi*, on receiving the corn from the proprietor, pays him at the rate of twenty *paras* for every *killo*, (a measure containing about sixty pounds weight.) The total quantity of corn thus purchased for the supply of the capital amounts to about a million of killoes annually. It is sent by sea to Constantinople, and lodged in public granaries situated on the north side of the harbour, near the arsenal. As this stock is considered to be a resource against times of scarcity, it is not distributed till it begins to be damaged, unless when it can be sold with considerable benefit. Indeed, as the ordinary price of wheat is three or four piastres the killo, the advantage to government, after making ample allowance for the freight and charges, cannot, under any circum-

stances, be estimated at less than two or three millions of piastres.* The *istiragi* also derives considerable profit from his office: for though he is reimbursed by government only at the same rate at which he pays for the corn, so that he does not benefit by the price, he gains considerably by the measure, which is always

* The imposition of the *istira* is not in all cases to be considered as a peculiar hardship on the provinces liable to this contribution. The territory in Macedonia ceded by Murad the Second, to his General Gazi Ghavrinos, was freed from every other tax or contribution, except that of the *istira*, and is transmitted to the descendants of this illustrious family with the same franchises. The Ghavrinos have so well supported the reputation of their great ancestor, that to this day one of their family is commonly appointed *istiragi* of the district of Salonica, which comprises the territory situated chiefly between the Vardar and the Strymon.

The Turks, in imposing on the provinces a contribution of corn for the supply of the capital, did but adopt a custom which had received the sanction of both the Eastern and Western emperors. Africa poured out her rich harvests as an homage to her conquerors, and Constantine imposed on the industrious husbandmen of Egypt an annual tribute of corn, which served only to nourish a spirit of faction and licentiousness in the indolent populace of his new capital. (See Gibbon, V. iii. p. 27.)

I have instanced only the contribution of bread-corn; but the Turkish government purchases *in like manner*, from several of the provinces, other necessary articles of consumption. In the spring of every year a company of purchasers, composed of Turks and Greeks, arrive in the two provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, with *firmans* from the Porte, and buy up, in the most vexatious and oppressive manner, five or six hundred thousand sheep, for the use of the corps of janizaries, and the households of the sultan and his principal officers; others, under the name of *capsali*, authorized by letters of the grand vizir, purchase butter, cheese, wax, tallow, and smoaked provisions, at their own price. In these two provinces, the fat of upwards of 80,000 oxen, sheep, and goats, is melted down every year, to supply the capital with tallow. The wretched inhabitants are also forbidden to export their corn, from any other ports than Galatz and Ibraïl on the Danube, where the Turkish merchants (chiefly the Lazes of Trebizond, a race of men infamous for their cruelty and injustice,) make their purchases with less regard to honesty and good faith, than even the agents of government. (See Osservazioni storiche, naturali, e politiche, intorno la Valachia, e Moldavia. Napoli, 1788. p. 120—123.)

heaped up when he receives the corn, and scanty when he delivers it into the sultan's granaries. He is besides authorized to receive, for his own account, and at the same rate as government, a quantity of wheat equal to the tenth part of the public *istira*, this he immediately resells at two piastres the killo, and consequently obtains a clear profit of three hundred per cent. These may be considered as the legal profits of his office; but, besides extorting money from the proprietors by harassing them with arbitrary exactions, and forcing them to carry the amount of their contribution to the seaport at their own cost, the *istiragi*, in contempt of the duties of his office, generally sells a tenth or a fifteenth part of the public corn, for which he substitutes an equal quantity of barley, rye, or even chaff; and he frequently deteriorates the remaining corn by swelling it with sea water, or the vapour of boiling vinegar, in order to conceal his fraud. These and other similar malversations are generally connived at by the superintending magistrates of the department; and they must be carried to a glaring excess indeed, before they bring down any punishment on the offender.

Though punishment may remove a faithless steward, it by no means insures the fidelity of his successor; the excess of peculation is even resorted to as a precedent; the same nefarious practices are continued, and hence, as is generally observed in Constantinople, the corn served out by government is inferior in its quality and condition to that purchased from private merchants.*

* See Tableau Général, V. iv. p. 220. Tab. du commerce de la Grèce, V. i. p. 111.

The produce of mines is carried to the public treasury, or partially assigned, as in the instance of the copper mines of Diarbekir, to the use of the Imperial establishments, the arsenals, and founderies, at Constantinople. It is certain that several of the chains of mountains which bound or intersect the Turkish provinces contain mines, not only of the useful, but of the precious, metals. The torrents which fall from the Transilvanian Alps, or Carpathian mountains, are impregnated with particles of different metals: the *chinganehs*, a race of gypsies who are very numerous in the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, collect from the beds of the rivers pellets of gold, mixed with a small quantity of silver; by means of which they are enabled to pay into the prince's treasury, the annual tribute of a drachm of gold, imposed on each man. The ignorance of the people in the art of working mines with economy is perhaps one cause of the neglect with which the Ottomans appear to treat this source of wealth; but the chief obstacle to exploration is the rapacity of government, which would seize upon the advantages of any new discovery, and subject the provincialists to the unrecompensed labour of opening the mines, and extracting the ores.*

* De Tott, (V. ii. p. 104.) imputes to this cause the neglect of the gold mines of *Tchadir dagh* in the Crimea, which at that time acknowledged the sovereignty of the Porte.

" In molti siti *(dei monti Carpazzi)* vi sono tutti gl'indizi di minerali; molte acque sono impregnate di particelli di diversi metalli; in tutti i fiumi si trovano pagliette d'oro mescolato con un poco d'argento, che sono raccolte dai *zingari*, essendo obbligato ogni uomo di costoro di portarne una dramma l'anno al tesoro del principe. Ultimamente nell'angolo della Moldavia che ora appartiene all' Imperatore," (cioè la Buccovina ceduta dalla Porta Ottomana alla casa d'Austria l'anno 1776,) si sono poste in valore delle miniere di ferro." (Osservazioni storiche, naturali, e politiche intorno la Valachia, e Moldavia, p. 109.)

For an account of the gold mines at Crenidæ in Macedonia, see Diodor. l. xvi. c. 9. Justin, l. viii. c. 3. or Gillies's History of ancient Greece, V. iv. p. 34.

escheats and forfeitures,

It has already been observed, that the patronage of the whole empire annually reverts to the crown, and that all posts of dignity or emolument are conferred anew at the festival of *baïram*, according to purchase or favour: the advantages arising from this immense sale of offices cannot however be considered as a revenue to the state, since both the purchase-money and the fees on new appointments are distributed without passing through the public treasury.* In like manner, the profits arising from the escheats and forfeitures of the lands held by the *zaïms* and *timariots* are but indirectly advantageous to government, for though they relieve the state in some degree from the expenses of paying its officers, they cannot be considered as a branch of revenue.† Confiscations, however, belong of right to the *miri*, or public treasury, as every Mussulman subject, exercising an employment of what nature soever under government, virtually stipulates that the sove-

* De Tott says (V. i. p. 83.) that the grand signor stipulated, that his share of the profits, arising from the appointment of Bishop Calinico to the patriarchate of Constantinople, should be paid to himself in new sequins, and that he afterwards divided them with his niece. But some better authority than De Tott's seems requisite for giving credit to the secret history of the seraglio.

† Dr. Dallaway (p. 37.) says that "the officers of state have neither salary nor pension:"—Mr. Eton (Schedule, No. 2.) even subjects the vizir and other ministers to the annual payment of 1800 *purses* for their offices. Cantemir (p. 147.) asserts from his own knowledge that the *defterdar effendi* receives 200,000 imperials, and pays 50,000 to the officer of his department immediately under him, *kiechuda bey*. But the grand vizir, he says, may justly get every year six hundred thousand imperials, exclusively of presents. Rycaut (p. 57.) instances a *reïs effendi*, who was executed for some conspiracy against the grand vizir, and left so great a treasure arising from the emoluments of his office, (all of which was confiscated to the grand signor) that it would have been sufficient to enrich and raise his prince, had he been impoverished, and in a declining condition.—See also Tab. Gén. V. ii. p. 539.

reign shall inherit the whole of his property at his death. The greatest part of the wealth of the nation must consequently pass through the coffers of government in the course of a single generation; and though the receipts of each year taken separately may vary considerably, yet the amount of a certain number of years must be uniform, and may be calculated with tolerable precision in estimating the revenues of the Turkish exchequer.* The *ulema* are the only agents of government who are not subject to this law: by a peculiar privilege they may bequeath their property to their natural descendants. In all cases, whether of confiscation or inheritance, the property of the wife or the widow is considered as belonging to her exclusively, and is not transferred to the public use. A Mussulman, holding no administrative or military appointment under government, is allowed to dispose of his possessions by will:† if he has children or relations he is compelled by the law to leave two thirds of his property to them; but if he has no heirs, he may then dispose, to whom and in such manner as he pleases, of the whole of his personal property, and of such part of

* Marsigli, (whose account of the revenues of the Ottoman empire, V. i. pp. *52, 55,* is very confused and inaccurate) says that the wealth of pashas, on their decease or deposition, passes into the coffer destined to supply the private wants of the sultan, which is under the care of the *haznadar bashi,* or sultan's private treasurer, a black eunuch of the seraglio. I have ventured to contradict him from my own experience, as I have observed in many instances that property lapsing to government by confiscation or inheritance is always seized upon in the name of the *miri.*

† It is to be observed that the company in which a janizary is enrolled inherits his effects at his death. The coffer of each company is placed under the protection of the captain, lieutenant, commissary, and ensign: the monies thus collected are considered as a public fund, and are employed for the relief of the sick and aged, the ransom of captives, the purchase of tents, harness, and such implements as the service requires.

his real property, as is termed *mulk*, or free, in opposition to *vacuf*, or that which is mortgaged to religious uses. On the death of any person, who has left no will, and whose legitimate heirs are unknown, the *miri* interferes, and holds the unclaimed property in behalf of the absent or unknown proprietors. There is, however, a want of precision, if not in the letter of the law, at least in the usual course of proceeding, especially in the concerns of the rayahs; for I have known the property of Armenian subjects forcibly taken from them during their lifetime, and disposed of to other persons, or seized upon at their death to the exclusion of the widow and orphans.*

Coinage. The mint is under the direction of the *zarphana eimini*, who farms the bullion at the rate of delivering a certain number of *purses* daily into the treasury: it is consequently a profit to the state.† The alteration and debasement of the coin was long since resorted to as a branch of revenue by the Ottoman sultans. I learned

* The instances to which I more particularly allude, are those of a rich Armenian banker of the name of Sakka Oglu, whose widow was stripped of all her husband's property because he had left no children. Another Armenian banker named Raphael Murat, with whom I was acquainted, lost his house in the fire at Pera in 1799. An Italian physician of the name of Ruini, knowing that Murat, because of great losses which he had sustained, could not immediately rebuild his house, asked a grant of the ground from Tchelebi Effendi, whose family he attended, and built a house upon it for himself, in contempt of common honesty, and in spite of the reclamations of the injured *rayah*.

† "Le droit du *khoutbé* et celui de faire battre monnoie, ont de tout temps formé les seuls droits régaliens des potentats Mahométans, chez lesquels le titre le plus caractéristique de l'autorité suprême est encore aujourd'hui celui de *Sahhib khoutbé ve sikkè*, c'est à dire, possesseur des droits du *khoutbé* et de la monnoie." (Tab. Gén. V. ii. p. 207.)

from a Polish merchant at Lemberg in Galicia, that the Turkish coin which he received from Moldavia as a remittance in the year 1797, contained only fifteen thirty-second parts of pure silver; and it has been since further adulterated every year.*

The Ottoman government is not sufficiently enlightened to perceive the inconveniences and injury which commerce sustains by such continual fluctuation in the value of the common standard. When the vizir Kioprili held the reins of government, he was advised by certain Christians to coin *mangurs* of an inferior intrinsic

* Dr. Wittman (Travels, pp. 37. 367.) says that the silver coin of Constantinople contains thirty hundredth parts of pure silver, and that of Cairo only twenty-five.—At the time when Theodorus Spanduginus wrote his account of Turkey (soon after the year 1500) 8 pieces of the copper coin called *mangur* were equal in value to a silver *asper:* 4 *aspers* to 1 *drachm:* 9 *drachms* or 36 *aspers* to a German thaler: the *sultania*, (a gold coin containing 45 *aspers*), was equal in weight and in fineness to the Venetian sequin.—When Leunclavius wrote his Pandect, the prices of things, he says, had increased so much, in consequence of the burthens of the Persian war and other causes, that after the lapse of forty or fifty years, 1 *asper* was exchanged for 24 *mangurs;* 5 *aspers* made 1 *drachm;* 12 *drachms* a German thaler; one thaler and an half, a Venetian sequin or 90 *aspers*. So that 1 *drachm* of 5 *aspers* was equal to 6 kreutzers; 10 *drachms* or 50 *aspers* to 1 florin; 12 *drachms* or 60 *aspers* to 1 thaler; and very soon after the thaler rose even to 80 *aspers*. (See Leunclavius's treatise "De variis monetis" in Elzevir's collection, p. 178.)—Marsigli (in his chapter Delle monete d'oro, d'argento, e di rame, che si battono d'entro l'impèro Ottomanno, V. i. p. 45.) says that *mangurs* and *ghediks* are the only copper money in use: the silver coin consists of *aspers, paras, beshliks, onliks,* and *solottas* (or piastres): the *sheriffs* (or ducats) are of gold. The following table will shew their relative value: 4 *mangurs* make 1 *asper,* 3 *aspers* 1 *para,* (*beshlik* expresses five, and *onlik* ten paras), 80 *paras* 1 *solotta,* 260 *paras* an Hungarian ducat.—The money at present in use in the Turkish empire is divided into *paras,* and *gurush* (or piastres) which consist of forty paras. The coin bears no other impression than that of the titles of the reigning sultan, the date of the year of the Hegira, and the name of the city where it was struck. According to the present rates fifteen piastres per pound sterling may be considered as the par of exchange.

value to those at that time in currency, and to give them a higher value in circulation, ordering that two *mangurs* should be received for an *asper*. By these means he relieved the state from its temporary embarrassments, but introduced at the same time so much confusion among the dealings of the people, that the populace and military of Constantinople were forced into insurrection.* The treasury derived a further profit from establishing two different rates for receiving, and issuing, payments. In the payment of tribute from the provinces the rix dollar was passed only at eighty *aspers*, but was reckoned at a hundred and twenty *aspers* in all disbursements of the public money. The profit to the state was however momentary and illusory; but ministers amassed wealth, and the subjects were ruined.

tribute. The tribute paid by the princes, or vaivodas, of Wallachia and Moldavia may be considered as a substitute for the territorial impost, the *haratch*, and all other taxes: it is annually paid into the *miri* or public treasury. The tribute is however but a small part of the contributions exacted from both principalities. The yearly purchase of the confirmation of the princes authority, the presents at *baïram* to the sultan and the officers of the porte, and the expences of maintaining agents to counteract the schemes of their rivals, and maintain their influence with ministry and the courtiers, absorb the greatest part of the revenues.† The tribute

* "Me presente," says Marsigli, from whose work (V. i. p. 46.) I have extracted the passage.

† "Vallachorum, Moldarumque principes—tributa pendunt, pecuniaque compa-

originally stipulated to be paid by the principality of Moldavia, which voluntarily submitted itself to the sultans, was four thousand crowns; but the great disparity between the contracting parties, and the want of a guarantee to the treaty, consequently left the Moldavians at the mercy of a master. The tribute in the year 1770 was only sixty-five thousand piastres, while the presents which accompanied it exceeded half a million. Wallachia was reduced by the arms of the Ottomans: its subjection is not however more galling than that of Moldavia: the tribute in the year 1782 amounted to three hundred thousand piastres, and together with the indirect expenses and the charges of administration, bore nearly the same proportion to the total expenditure of the principality, as those of Moldavia.* The government of both principalities, as exercised over the miserable inhabitants by the

ratas dignitates pecunia tueri cogantur, unde maximis semper conflictantur curis, ne artibus iisdem a se feliciter in antecessores expertis, a provincia extrudantur, et nova onera subire vel ob calumnias perire compellantur." (Montalban. ap. Elzevir, p. 21.)

* See Cantemir, pp. 186, 187, 188. Prince Cantemir governed Moldavia, and therefore must have written this part of his history with a perfect knowledge of the subject: he feelingly says, "that though at present there are paid into the Imperial treasury sixty thousand crowns by way of tribute, and twenty-four thousand as an Easter offering, many more are exacted by these insatiable blood-suckers. For as there is no law against avarice, so there is no end of the Turkish demands and extortions. All depends on the will of the prime vizir, and to make any remonstrance against his pleasure is deemed capital."—See also Osservazioni storiche, naturali, e politiche, intorno la Valachia, e Moldavia, pp. 185. 199.—Rycaut, Present state of the Ottoman empire, chap. xiv.—Marsigli (V. i. p. 55.) says that the tributes of Wallachia and Moldavia are not mentioned in the *canon namé*, because they are chiefly designed as perquisites of office to the vizir: he estimates the part which is paid into the treasury at 820 purses.

Greek princes and their dependents, is a monster in politics. A Turkish pasha, when compared with the Greek thus suddenly elevated from abject slavery to absolute command, seems almost to merit the title of the father of his country. The extortions of these tax-gatherers, rather than rulers, are greater than any I have seen or heard of in the Turkish provinces; and the most melancholy and humiliating change which ever I have witnessed, is that of the Dacians, the most warlike of men,* (whose generous exertions in defence of their country are perpetuated in the historical column of the emperor Trajan), sunk, under the sceptre of Christians, into the most servile and timid race of people that can be imagined; while under the yoke of the Ottomans, galling as it must appear to men who know and value liberty, every class of conquered people retains something of its ancient characteristics, and even the Jews attain to a greater degree of respectability than they seem to have reached in other countries.† The little republic of Ragusa, which foresaw the greatness of the Ottoman power while yet in its infancy, has flourished for centuries under the protection of the Porte, and pays an annual tribute of twelve thousand five hundred sequins in token of submission.‡ An important branch of revenue, which it is however difficult to calculate with precision, is a tax upon certain pro-

* Gibbon, V. i. p. 8.

† Dallaway, p. 382.

‡ Rycaut says (p. 65.) that the community of Ragusa, a town in Dalmatia anciently called Epidaurus, sent ambassadors to Sultan Orchan desiring to become his tributaries, and to receive his powerful protection. The treaty has been religiously observed by the Turks: the tribute then established has never been augmented, nor the privileges and immunities granted them, infringed.

vinces which is levied in kind. The object of it, so far as regards the public, is to provide materials for keeping up the navy; besides furnishing stores and provisions necessary for the service of the sultan's household. The benefit which the treasury derives from this source has been estimated at two thousand *purses;* but when it is considered that almost all the materials necessary for the arsenal are provided by contributions of this nature from the provinces, and that the dock-yards and store-rooms are so abundantly provided as to excite the admiration of strangers, it is evident that the means of keeping on foot a navy, consisting of fifteen ships of the line and as many frigates, are by no means over-rated at a million of piastres.*

Expenditure of the public treasures.

The treasure thus collected, over which the *defterdar effendi* presides, is called *beïth-ul-mali muslimin,* or the public money of

* "The district called Kogia, situated on the gulf of Ismit in the Propontis, sends 21,000 pieces of timber: Smyrna, Salonica, and the Asiatic provinces on the Black Sea, 12,050 kintals of hemp (each kintal weighing 120 pounds): Cairo 1000 kintals of tow, 100 jars of lintseed oil, 2000 pieces of sail-cloth, and 40 kintals of sewing twine: Athens 1500 ells of sail-cloth: Samakoff (on the Black Sea) 1395 kintals of bar iron: Salonica 2000 ells of woollen cloth, (which was formerly used in making awnings for the gallies): Karaboghaz, Boli, and Isnic, 2430 oars for the gallies, and 5200 kintals of boxwood: Sultania and Osar 500 kintals of tar," &c. See Marsigli, V. i. pp. 52. 56. 150. V. ii. p. 179.)

"Je parcourus successivement la salle des coupes, située dans le jour le plus favorable, pour les desseins en grand qu'on y exécute; je pus me convaincre de l'état des chantiers qui étoient parfaitement approvisionnés, aussi bien que les magazins de la marine. On s'étonne comment la Porte, sans plan de finances, avec des revenus que les révoltes des pachas rendent incertains, fait face à ses dépenses, sans former d'emprunt." (Pouqueville, Voyages en Morée, &c. V. ii. p. 210.)

the Mussulmans, no part of which the emperor himself can expend without the most urgent necessity, or apply to his own private use without danger. The law is so strict in this respect that it is not even permitted to the sultan to appropriate to pious uses any part of the money consecrated to the necessities of the state. It is for this reason that the Imperial mosques are founded chiefly by sultans who have obtained victories and made conquests, and who are therefore presumed to devote the spoils of war, gained from the enemies of their religion, to the service of public worship, the instruction of youth, and the relief of the poor. This is invariably the case with respect to all the Imperial mosques built within the walls of Constantinople. The sultans, who not having merited the surname of *gazi*, or conqueror, are yet desirous of perpetuating their memory by founding a mosque from the savings of their household expenses, usually build it in Scutari on the opposite coast of Asia, or in some other city in the neighbourhood of the Imperial residence. The disbursements of the *miri* chiefly relate to the military stipends of the *capiculy* and their dependencies, the salaries and maintenance of the officers and workmen of the arsenal, and the purchase of such materials or stores necessary for the building, repairing, or equipment, of vessels as the country does not furnish, or the skill of the inhabitants enable them to manufacture. The *tershana eimini*, or steward of the arsenal, has the care of providing all necessaries for the navy and superintends the receipts and expenditures, as the *tophana nazeri* regulates all the expenses of the ordinance: the *miri* also provides for the fortifying or keeping in repair the walls and buildings ne-

cessary for the defence of the capital, besides a variety of current expenses.*

The treasure called *ich hazné*, which is devoted to the private uses of the sultan, is administered by the officers of his household. The Imperial domains, *hass humaïun*, furnish the fixed part of this revenue, and it has other eventual sources of augmentation. The sultan condescends to accept presents from his servants on certain festivals, or on occasion of great solemnities, such as the birth or circumcision of a son.† On the nomination to great offices he

Sultan's revenues, fixed and casual.

* Mr. Griffiths has copied "from the estimable labours of his friend Mr. Eton" thirteen quarto pages on the subject of the Turkish finances. Such undistinguishing commendation, as it gives no additional importance to those labours, does not deter me from observing that his schedule of the annual expenditure is equally liable to objection with that of the revenues. "The expenditure of the miri," he says, (p. 40.) "embraces a variety of objects, *viz.* the expenses of the army and navy, in war as well as peace; the pay of all officers, civil and military; the erecting and repairing of fortifications, of public edifices, high roads, bridges, &c. together with a great part of the expenses of the sultan's household, and several other extraordinary disbursements." I avoid as superfluous the pointing out with how many restrictions each of these assertions is to be received; and I shall only observe, that, in the more detailed account of the annual expenditure of the *miri*, (p. 48.) there appears to me the insertion of a wilful error:—the pay of the garrison at Viddin is put down at 1250 *purses*, that of all the other fortresses in the Ottoman empire 18,000, besides the pay of those who guard the Danube 3521.—But why is Viddin, a fortress on the Danube, thus honoured by a distinction from all the other fortresses in the Ottoman empire? Viddin is not a frontier garrison of singular importance in the ordinary state of affairs in Turkey: but Viddin, at the time when Mr. Eton published his work, was noised in Europe because of the rebellion of Passwan Oglu.

† "Il est d'usage d'envoyer, en ces occasions, des lettres circulaires aux *paschas*, aux gouverneurs, aux intendans, aux magistrats de toutes les provinces et de toutes les grandes villes de l'empire. Par ces lettres, le sultan leur fait part de la cérémonie, et les invite

receives, under the name of *peshkesh* or gift, a pecuniary homage, proportioned to the dignity conferred. It is a common opinion that the sultan's revenues are so ample as to enable him, after providing for all the expenses of the court and household, to put aside a considerable sum of money every year; and we are even told by respectable authors, that "after the death of every sultan, the treasure so amassed is inclosed in a certain chamber shut with an iron gate, the key-hole of which is stopped with lead, and over the gate is written in letters of gold, "The treasure of such a sultan." I am unwilling to believe the assertion, though unable to contradict it, on the authority of more correct information obtained by my own enquiries.* This however may safely be credited, that there can never be a deficiency in the sultan's treasury, nor can it ever be found inadequate to the purposes of its establishment, so long as it is carefully guarded from dilapidation on the part of the administrators, and the state continues free from public commotions, which alone can prevent the collection, and retard the

à s'y trouver. Ils y assistent en effet par des substituts qui, ce jour-là, les représentent à la cour, et font en leur nom de riches présens au jeune prince, en signe d'hommage et de servitude." (Tab. Gén. V. ii. p. 289.)

Cantemir (p. 281.) estimates the presents, sent to the emperors on the circumcision of their sons, as equal to half the yearly tribute of the empire.

* Rycaut, Present state of the Ottoman empire, p. 57.—I may indeed appeal to the respectable authority of the Venetian ambassador, who, in his memoir to the senate, when speaking on the subject of the sultan's treasure, says, in opposition to the vulgar report of there being an annual saving of two millions of sequins, "Quæ res parum credibilis mihi visa est, quia rex ille in toto suo imperio nullas habet aurifodinas, *et ab ejus ministris repugnantia intellexi.*" (De urbe Constant. et imp. Turc. relatio incerti ad Honorium in Turc. imp. statu ap. Elzevir, p. 128.)

remittance, of the revenues. Its riches are not to be estimated by the amount of its receipts in specie. The purveyances made upon the provinces comprehend every article of provision, sufficient for the numerous train of attendants attached to the court. Egypt sends an ample contribution of rice, sugar, coffee, drugs, and spices, from the produce of its own fields, or the commerce of Arabia and India. The mastic produced in Scio, which is so considerable as to give its name *sakis* to the island, is reserved for the use of the Seraglio and the *harem*, with the exception of that part only which is allowed to the Turkish collectors and officers. It may be asserted that the supplies from the provinces are such, that nothing which the empire produces is ever bought with money for the service of the seraglio.

The establishment of the female branches of the Imperial family is, in a great degree, imposed upon vizirs or pashas, who are honoured by an alliance with their master. The mother of the Sultan supports her dignity by an appanage adequate to her rank. The administration of it is confided to an officer of importance in the state, under the name of *validé kiahyasi*, (steward to the empress dowager). Her revenues are called *pashmaklik*, (sandal money), and consist of streets in the metropolis or provincial cities, of towns, villages, and islands, throughout the whole empire. All the taxes and dues of the domains thus set apart for the maintenance of the sultanas are annually rented to the best bidder among private purchasers. In these districts the pasha of the province exercises no authority, except so far as regards the general police; since the revenues belong exclusively to the sultanas, and are col-

lected by the farmers, who are generally the *vaivodas* or magistrates. The inhabitants are not however exempt from taxation, in case of extraordinary impositions, or war-taxes levied by order of government.

Nizami djedid.

Attempts have been made, since the establishment of the *nizami djedid*, to draw into greater utility, by the imposition of an excise tax, the vast financial resources which exist in the empire. This tax was created in order to produce a fund for the support of the great addition to the standing military force; a plan which has been first carried into execution by the present sultan. But whether from the want of clear views on the subject, or from the general aversion of the Turks to innovation, much disgust has been excited, and even insurrection. The scheme, however, is not yet abandoned, although it has by no means acquired solidity: but the standing army of the sultan, which is slowly improving in discipline, can alone give vigour to the system.*

* According to the regulations of the *nizami djedid*, every head of lesser cattle is taxed a *para*, an ox pays a *piastre*, wine two *paras* the *oke*, (a quantity equal to two pounds and three quarters English), *raki* or brandy, four *paras* the *oke*: and in like proportion the excise law extends to every object of stock and production.

CHAPTER VII.

RELIGION, MORALS, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS OF THE TURKS.

Physical constitutions and general habits.—Moral and religious education.—Popular belief, and practice.—Priests.—Dervishes.—Emirs.—Pilgrimage to Mecca.—Predestination.—Invocation of saints.—Belief in the efficacy of amulets, relics, and enchantments.—Faith in omens and dreams.—Prejudice against pictures.—Punishment of apostacy.—Morality.—Proselytism.—Modes of proposing the faith to unbelievers.—Public charities.—Hospitality and alms.—Tenderness towards brute animals.—Character of the Turks;—their austerity,—irritability of temper,—intemperance in the use of wine,—and opium,—covetousness,—ambition,—hypocrisy,—behaviour to strangers.—Virtues of the middle class.—Clothing of the Turks.—The warm bath.—Turkish luxuries and amusements:—conversation,—story-telling,—ombres chinoises,—dancers and gladiators,—athletic exercises.—General health.—The plague.—Mourning.—Interments and funeral monuments.

The Turks are of a grave and saturnine cast; they are in general well made, and robust; patient of hunger and privations;

Physical constitutions and general habits.

capable of enduring the hardships of military service, but not much inclined to habits of industry. The early hours and regular lives of their mothers, their own habitual temperance, and general freedom from violent passions, give them good health and undistorted features. Their way of living is simple and domestic: they prefer apathy and indolence to active enjoyments; but when moved by a powerful stimulus they sometimes indulge in pleasures to excess. *

Moral and religious education.

The moral character is fundamentally formed in infancy and childhood, not by precept, so much as by the absence of evil;

* "Pauci exercendo agro vel aliis artibus tolerare vitam. Non enim arare terram, aut expectare annum tam facile persuaseris, quam vocare hostes, et vulnera mereri. Pigrum et iners omnino videtur sudore acquirere quod possit sanguine parari." Montalban, ap. Elzevir, p. 24.)

Denon in his review of the different physiognomies of the inhabitants of Egypt, says, "Les Turcs ont des beautés plus graves avec des formes plus molles; leurs paupières épaisses laissent peu d'expression à leurs yeux; le nez gras, de belles bouches bien bordées, et de longues barbes touffues, un teint moins basané, un cou nourri, toute l'habitude du corps grave et lourde.—A parler en artiste on ne peut faire de leur beauté que la beauté d'un Turc." (Voyage, &c. V. i. p. 140.)

De Tott, in his preliminary discourse, supposes that their fibres are relaxed, and their bodies enfeebled, by the heat of the climate. Can the climate of Thrace, the country which produced the gigantic Maximin, whose extraordinary strength and courage, procured to him from the Roman armies, the names of Ajax and Hercules, and even the imperial dignity, be supposed to relax the fibres of its inhabitants? What more convincing proof can be given of the natural strength of their constitution, than the instance which De Tott relates, of a Turk drinking off two bottles of lavender water, without intoxication or injury to himself? (See Memoirs, V. i. p. 3.)

for the Turks receive their early education under the care of their mothers and their female attendants, who are secluded from the promiscuous society of men, and removed from the contagion of corrupt example. Their religion, which is simple, is taught them by their parents in the *harem*. The minds of the children, as in other countries, are instructed in the dogmas of a particular system: they are inflated with the superiority of their own situation, in a religious sense; and they are taught to indulge in the contemplation of it, and in a contempt bordering on hatred, for the professors of every other religion. The revelations of heaven, and the precepts of the prophet equally inculcate on the minds of Mussulmans, this exalted idea of themselves, and this sentiment of disdain and aversion for strangers to their faith. "The prayers of the infidel are not prayers, but wanderings," says the Koran. "I withdraw my foot, and turn away my face," says Mahomet, "from a society in which the faithful are mixed with the ungodly." Nor is the uncharitableness of the sentiment extinguished, or even weakened, by the death of its object. "Pray not for those whose death is eternal," is a precept of the Mahometan church, "and defile not thy feet by passing over the graves of men, the enemies of God and his prophet." These commandments are precise and positive: they regulate the principles and the conduct of all classes of Mussulmans. It is vain to suppose their pernicious and uncharitable tendency counteracted by passages of scripture which breathe a milder spirit, or by the example of the prophet, who is known to have frequented the society of unbelievers and pagans. The Mahometan, who has risen above the prevailing

Popular belief and practice.

prejudices of his religion and country, will alone appeal to these more tolerant precepts, in order to justify his conduct to his own heart, or to sanction it in the eyes of the public: but the vulgar mind, the great majority of the nation in every class of society, will always be chained down to the observance of the most intolerant precepts of religion. *

The *namaz*, the prayer the most obligatory on Mussulmans, and the most pleasing to the Supreme Being, is chiefly a confession of the divine attributes, and of the nothingness of man; a solemn

* In the reign of Abd'ullah the Third, surnamed Meemounn, Bagdad was afflicted with a great drought. The caliph enjoined a public penance, and went himself in procession, at the head of his Mussulman subjects, to perform in the neighbouring plains, the prayers prescribed by religion on such occasions. The ceremony was repeated on three succeeding days, but without effect. Heaven withheld its blessings, and rejected their petitions. The caliph then ordered the Jews and Christians to unite their supplications with those of the faithful; when lo! to the great scandal of Islamism, the rain fell in abundance, the earth was refreshed, but the caliph was astounded. He felt the affront even more than he acknowledged the favour, and his faith staggered with resentment. The *ulema* were assembled, and the caliph proposed his doubts; when a reverend doctor, no less learned than pious, arose, and enforcing his reasoning with the seductions of eloquence, calmed his disquietude, and brought him back into the stedfastness of truth. The Mahometan doctors attribute to inspiration the discourse which he pronounced. "What is there," said the holy man, "so extraordinary in this event, or so inimical to the religion of Mahomet. God," continued he, "so loves the Mussulmans his chosen people, their prayers and their petitions are so grateful to his ear, that he even abstains from an immediate compliance with their request, to compel them to renew their pious addresses: but the voice of infidels is harsh and dissonant; and if he grant their petitions, it is from disgust at their nauseous supplications, and to rid himself of their importunities." (Tab. Gén. V. ii. p. 250.)

act of homage and gratitude to the eternal majesty. The faithful are forbidden to ask of God the temporal blessings of this frail and perishable life: the only legitimate object of the *namaz* is to adore the Supreme Being, by praying for spiritual gifts and the ineffable advantages of eternal felicity. * Confident in the efficacy of belief and the virtue of prayer and legal purification, the Mussulmans feel no humility because of the imperfections of human nature, and no repentance because of actual transgressions. † The unity of the Supreme Being, and the divine mission of the prophet, are all that are insisted on as necessary to justification with God; ‡ and as these imply no contradiction,

* See Tableau Général, V. ii. pp. 70—99.

" The prophet himself was so filled with divine love, when he performed his devotions, that his pure and holy heart was said to boil like water in a cauldron on a strong fire." (Tab. Gén. V. ii. p. 76.)

† That is, no repentance considered as an act of the mind, for they have many penitential rites and ceremonies.

‡ Nous croyons, nous confessons, nous attestons, qu'il n'y a de Dieu que Dieu seul, Dieu unique, lequel n'admet point d'association en lui; *croyance heureuse à laquelle est attachée la béatitude céleste.*——D'après ce principe, quiconque meurt dans la foi Musulmane est sûr de gagner le ciel. Est-il chargé de péchés, a-t-il transgressé la loi, a-t-il negligé le culte et la pratique des bonnes œuvres, il ne s'expose qu' à des peines toujours soumises à la volonté suprême du Créateur, qui est le maître de pardonner entièrement les plus grands crimes, comme de punir sévèrement les moindres fautes. Or le Musulman pécheur venant à être rangé dans la classe des enfans rebelles qui ont encouru les châtimens du père céleste, éprouve les tourmens qui lui sont destinés pour l'expiation de ses péchés. Ainsi purifié par le feu de l'enfer, il se trouve en état de paroître devant la face de son créateur, et de jouir dans la société des élus, du bonheur qui leur appartient. (Tab. Gén. V. i. p. 146. V. ii. p. 214.)

and involve no mystery, the mind seems to comprehend both points without an effort, and to hold them with steadiness. Hence their consciences are never alarmed at the weakness or insufficiency of their faith; nor can they ever doubt of their acceptance with God. Their religion consoles and elevates them through life, and never disturbs their dying moments. *

Many of the learned Turks are said to refuse an implicit belief to all the miracles recorded in the Koran; † but none

The heresy of the Kharidjys, against which the caliph Ali displayed a zeal which occasioned his death, consisted chiefly in the doctrine, that enormous sins counteract and even annul, faith, which can only be meritorious when accompanied with the constant practice of morality.

* The death of the vizir Ahmed Pasha by order of Sultan Soliman, as related by Baron Busbek (Epist. ii, p. 90), is a remarkable instance of Turkish fortitude.

Cum mane in divanum venisset, mox affuit qui ei regis nomine mortem indiceret, qui nuncius Achomatem haud multo magis commovit, ut erat incredibili magnitudine animi, quam si nihil ad ipsum pertineret. Carnificem tantum munus suum exequi parantem, a se repulit, haud convenire existimans tanto honore modo usum pollutis illius manibus attrectari; cumque oculos ad eos qui adstabant circumtulisset, hominem honestum, sibi amicum, oravit, ut hoc sibi daret, ut ejus manibus necaretur, futurum id sibi magni et postremi muneris loco; quod ille, etiam atque etiam rogatus, non recusavit. Verum Achomates eum monuit, ne statim atque una vice astricto nervo se suffocaret, sed eo remisso, semel respirare pateretur; quo facto, nervum adduceret donec examinaretur."

† The minutiæ of Turkish belief, are indeed as little reconcileable to common sense, as the fables of ancient mythology. But as Voltaire justly observes, " Les Turcs sensés rient de ces bêtises subtiles; les jeunes femmes n'y pensent pas; les vieilles dévotes y croient."

of them so far contradict the national prejudices, as publicly to withhold their assent. * An *effendi*, skilled in mathematics, was asked, how he could believe, that Mahomet broke the star of the moon, and caught half of it falling from heaven, in his sleeve. He replied, that indeed in the course of nature it could not be done, nay was contrary to it; but as the miracle is in the Koran affirmed to be wrought, he resigned his reason, and embraced the miracle; for, added he, God can do whatever he pleases. † They admit with equal facility the wonderful stories related by Christians, and on some occasions conform in their conduct to the popular prejudices even of these people; as in the instance given by Cantemir, of the lord of a village, who suffered no work to be done on St. Phocas's day, because formerly the saint, in revenge for the profanation of his festival, had burnt their standing corn. ‡ The opinion, that sanctity of life, independently of any

* Khodjea Behhay'ud-dinn Nakschibendy, the greatest saint of Turkistan, bequeathed to the faithful this maxim, for the regulation of their conduct: "the exterior for the world, the interior for God." (Tab. Gén. V. i. p. 307.)

† The story is from Cantemir, who affirms (Ottoman History, p. 31. note.) that he himself held this conversation with the effendi; and his general veracity is proved from the internal testimony of his writings. Cantemir, however, shews himself in this, as well as in other instances, to be but superficially acquainted with the Koran; or at least to have read it under that prejudice of which a Greek can never divest himself. The story of the fraction of the moon, is in the 54th chapter of the Koran; and it is alluded to in the Tableau Général, V. i. p. 199, and V. iii. p. 295. See also Gibbon's Roman History, V. 9. p. 272.

‡ "Ils ne se livrent à aucun acte extérieur de dévotion envers Jésus Christ; mais aussi ne se permettent-ils jamais la moindre irrévérence, ni même le déplace-

particular religious persuasion, is sufficient for salvation, is silently embraced by a few liberal Turks, though it is condemned by the Mahometan church as a heresy.*

It has been observed, that in all ages, men satiated with enjoyments, are most inclined to become atheists; and men the most to be pitied are superstitious. But atheism, either speculative or practical, is a vice which is rare among the Turks; for when the doctrines of the existence of God, and the immortality of the soul have been implanted in the mind by early education, they cannot be eradicated, unless, perhaps, by intense and perverted study and reflection, of which the Turks, from habitual indolence, are incapable.† The terrors of conscience,

ment d'aucune relique Chrétienne. Ce seroit, disent-ils, attirer sur nous la colère et la malédiction de ce grand prophète." (Tab. Gén. V. ii. p. 401.)

* Busbequii, Epist. iii. p. 126.

† Ceux même qui ne sont pas bien convaincus de l'apostolat du prophète, n'en sont pas moins attachés au dogme de l'unité de l'être suprême, ni moins pénétrés de son existence et de ses attributs infinis. (Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. 464.)

I find myself at variance, both in my assertions and my reasoning, with Sir James Porter; who says (p. 39.) "that it is certain there are among the Turks many philosophical minds:—that they have the whole systems of the Aristotelian and Epicurean philosophy translated into their own language; and finding the latter, *which they call the Democritic*, to cut more effectually at the root, and to be more conformable to their present indolence, ease, and security, *they generally adopt it*; so that, perhaps, without their knowing it, they are at once *perfect atheists* and professed Mahometans. Superstition, and its train," continues Sir James Porter, "are a true basis for atheism; there is no medium; from the one extreme the mind is forcibly, though imperceptibly, driven to the other: *hence the Turks easily plunge into it.*"

which generate in the vicious and profligate, a wish to disbelieve, and at last, perhaps, a trembling hope that they do disbelieve these doctrines, operate but little on the minds of men who are firmly convinced, that the divine favour is never withdrawn from those, who are stedfast in their profession of faith and constant in the practice of the ceremonies of religion. The belief and performance of both are simple and easy, and not only may exist unconnected with virtue, but may even expiate vicious conduct. Hence that tranquillity with respect to futurity which never abandons the Turk: and hence his neglect of palliatives for an evil, of which, so far as regards himself as a believer, he cannot consistently suspect the existence.

The popular religion of the Turks consists in belief, prayers, ablutions, and fastings at stated periods.

They are called to namaz (prayers) five times a day, by the *muezzinn* (chanter), who recites, from the highest tower of the

Sir James Porter, who was so little acquainted with the Turkish language as to assert, "that it is composed of the very dregs of the Persian and Arabian tongues," cannot be supposed to have derived his information from the purest sources. It appears indeed to have been communicated to him by his dragomans, (mere men of words, who are always prepared to answer every question, on every subject, rather than confess their ignorance, and who always accommodate their answers to the wishes of the enquirer,) and as such, it may be dismissed without further remark. I am much disposed to doubt, that superstition necessarily leads to atheism; but it is unnecessary to discuss the merits of the position, as fanaticism, and not superstition, is the prominent feature of the Mahometan religion.

jami, the hymn *ezann*, containing a confession of faith, in the following form. " God most high! I bear witness that there is no God but God; I bear witness that Mahomet is the prophet of God. Come to prayer; come to the asylum of salvation. Great God! There is no God but God."

The canonical hours for the morning prayer are from the first dawning of the day to sun-rise. This prayer was first performed by Adam on his expulsion from Paradise, when he returned thanks to God on being delivered from the darkness of night, and again permitted to behold the approach of day. Towards the conclusion of the morning *ezann*, the *muezzinn* exhorts the faithful to be diligent in their devotions, by repeating immediately after the words, come to the asylum of salvation, " prayer is preferable to sleep, prayer is preferable to sleep." The *namaz* of noon, which may be said at any period of the interval between the meridian and the next succeeding *namaz*, was instituted by Abraham after his purposed sacrifice of his son Isaac. The afternoon *namaz*, in which the prophet Jonas first expressed his gratitude on being cast up from the belly of the whale, begins when the shadow projected on the dial is of twice the length of the gnomon; and it may be said as long as the sun continues above the horizon. The evening prayer is believed by Mahometans to have been instituted by Jesus Christ: the hours appointed for the performance of this *namaz* are from the setting of the sun to complete nocturnal darkness, when the night prayer is

performed, in imitation of Moses. On Friday, which is consecrtaed to public worship in commemoration of the creation of man, the Mahometans recite an additional *namaz*, and a prayer *salath' ul-djuma* between sunrising and noon.

In the *namaz* there are several prostrations, some of which must not on any account be omitted, being *farz*, or the immediate command of God: others may be omitted, though not without some degree of sin, being *sunneth*, institutions of the prophet, or rather an imitation of his practice.*

The Turks admit of purgatory, in which the believer is to repeat the prayers which he omitted in his life time, or neglected to say at the appointed times. They assert that the sinful soul is greatly benefited by the prayers of the living, and still more so by the reading of the Koran, whereby the angel Gabriel is assisted in guarding the soul from the devils, during the forty days of its hovering about the grave wherein the body is laid.

The *abdest*, or ablution of the hands, face, mouth, head, neck, arms, and feet, accompanied with suitable prayers, is performed by the Turks in a particular manner to distinguish them from the Persians, and is an indispensable preparation to the *namaz* or

* Busbequius misrepresents the devotions of the Turks, when he says, (Epist. iii. p. 178.) "Sacerdote Mahumetis nomen pronunciante, pariter una omnes capita ad genua usque submittebant. Cum nomen Dei proferetur, in faciem venerabundi procidebant, et terram deosculabantur."

prayer. * *Ghoussoul* is the purification of the whole body, in cases which are specified in the religious code of the Mahometans. *Ghassl,* or simple washing, is ordered for removing any visible or substantial impurity, from the clothes or the person, of a nature to invalidate or annul the virtue of prayer.

The fast of the month of *ramazan* consists in abstaining from food or drink, or any gratification of the senses, during the whole time of the sun's continuance above the horizon.

Priests

The immediate ministers of religion make no part of the body of *ulema.* In the larger mosques there are *sheïks,* or preachers; *kiatibs,* readers or deacons, who, in imitation of the prophet and caliphs, and in the name and under the sacerdotal authority of the sultan, discharge the functions of the *imameth* or high priesthood; *imams,* who recite the *namaz;* and *muezzinns,* who summon the people to prayers; besides *cayyims* or sextons. In

* " A *reïs effendi,* or secretary of state, reputed of great ability and learning, sent for a Christian *dragoman,* or interpreter, on very urgent business; he attended, and found the secretary deeply engaged in dispute with his son-in-law on the important question, to what exact height their hands or arms, feet or legs, should be washed, to render themselves truly acceptable to God." (Observations on the Religion, &c. of the Turks, p. 9.) Such is Sir James Porter's story, who boasts of his superior means of obtaining information, and yet we see fell into the error of believing a dragoman. Now the mode of performing all the ablutions is so minutely described, and in several instances with that naïveté which modern European manners will scarcely tolerate, that no doubt or dispute can possibly arise between Mussulmans on this subject.

villages, or small parishes, the duties of the whole are performed by the *imam*, who is sometimes also the *hogia*, or schoolmaster for the children: but he owes this appointment to his being the only person possessing sufficient leisure or the necessary qualifications.

The ministers of religion throughout the Turkish empire are subordinate to the civil magistrate, who exercises over them the powers of a diocesan. He has the privilege of superseding and removing those whose conduct is reproachable, or who are unequal to the dignified discharge of the duties of their office. The magistrates themselves may, whenever they judge proper, perform all the sacerdotal functions, and it is in virtue of this prerogative, joined to the influence which they derive from their judicial power and their riches, that they have so marked a pre-eminence, and so preponderant an authority, over the ministers of public worship.

The priests in their habits of life are not distinguished from other citizens: they live in the same society and engage in the same pursuits: * they sacrifice no comforts, and are compelled to no acts of self-denial: their influence on society is entirely dependent on their reputation for learning and talents, or gravity

* When Baron de Tott was fortifying the Dardanelles, the pasha strongly recommended to his notice a *muezzinn*, or crier of a mosque, as a man who had a surprising genius for throwing bombs, and to whom he intended to give the post of *first bombardeer*. (Memoirs, V. ii. p. 53.)

and moral conduct. They are seldom the professed instructors of youth, much less of men, and by no means are they considered as the directors of conscience. They merely chant aloud the church service, and perform offices, which the master of a family or the oldest person in company, as frequently, and as consistently, performs as themselves. The Turks know nothing of those expiatory ceremonies which give so much influence to the priesthood: all the practices of their religion can be, and are, performed without the interference of the priests.*

Dervishes. The institution of the different orders of *dervishes* is foreign to the genuine spirit of the Mahometan religion. Some of the Ottoman ministers have even attempted their suppression; but the vulgar, who certainly consider their ceremonies as of the nature of incantation, submit to their caprices, and court their benediction by respect and liberality.†

* " On entretient dans les hôtels publics, dans les grandes maisons, des *imams* et des *muezzinns* particuliers, à titre de chapelains ou d'aumôniers. Ces *muezzinns* annoncent l'*ezann* sur le haut de l'escalier ou vers la porte de la pièce destinée à la prière, se mettent ensuite dans une des lignes de l'assemblée, où ils recitent la seconde annonce, *ikameth*; apres quoi l'*imam*, placé comme dans les temples à la tête du corps, commence le *namaz*. Ces ministres particuliers n'ont rien de commun avec les ministres publics voués au service des mosquées. *Ce sont de simples citoyens, nommés par les chefs des familles, sous le nom et l'autorité desquels ils président à ce réligieux exercice, comme ayant eux-mêmes le droit de s'en acquitter en personne.* Cette prérogative est commune à tout Musulman dans les assemblées particulières." (Tab. Gén. V. ii. p. 175.)

† I apply the epithet vulgar to the character of the mind, the constituent part of the man, rather than to the rank in life; for Selim the First, the conqueror of Egypt

The word *dervish*, derived from the Persian and signifying the threshold of a door, the spirit of humility, has been improperly translated *monk*, since some of the orders are allowed to marry, and none profess celibacy. In the Ottoman empire there are thirty-two distinct orders. Hagi Bektash, a sheïk of distinguished piety, founded among the Turks the order which still bears his name: the institution and the memory of the saint are in high repute in Turkey, because of their connection with the military order of the janizaries, who were consecrated and named by Hagi Bektash. Eight *dervishes* of this order are lodged and maintained in the barracks at Constantinople: their office is to offer up prayers every night and morning for the prosperity of the empire, and the success of its arms. In public ceremonies they march on foot before the horse of the *janizar aga*, the chief of them constantly repeating with a loud voice *kerim-ullah* (merciful God), to which the others reply in chorus by the word *hou.* † The

was himself no less a slave to this absurd superstition than the meanest of his subjects. When he had made himself master of Syria, his greatest anxiety was to seek out, and heap presents and benefits on, the *sheïks* and *dervishes*, in hopes of being aided in his future expeditions by their blessings and prayers. His devotion led him to visit an anchorite, who dwelt in a corner of the mosque of Damascus. The sultan bowed himself down before the saint, and stood in the humblest attitude, not daring to break silence: the pious solitary, on the other hand, held his peace from respect for the monarch. After a long pause an officer of the court broke the charm, and relieved them both from this ridiculous state of suspence; but Selim, before he dared to solicit the prayers of the *sheïk* for the prosperity of the Ottoman arms, severely rebuked the favourite for his unholy impatience. (See Tableau Général, V. i p. 312.)

* The exclamation *ya-hou*, (he who is) is an acknowledgement of the eternal existence of God; of the same signification as Jehovah among the Hebrews.

mevlevi turn round in their dances for a long continuance, * and cultivate vocal and instrumental music; and their *neïh* (pipe made of an Indian reed) is exceedingly sweet. The *cadri*, or howling dervishes, repeat the name of God so long, and with such vehemence, that at last they fall down, exhausted with fatigue and foaming at the mouth. The novitiate of these fellows is degrading and painful. Uveïs, the founder of a sect in the first century of the hegira, required of his followers to draw all their teeth, in honour of the prophet, who lost two of his teeth at the battle of Ohud.† So severe a probation left no room for hypocrisy, and the weakness of human nature gradually operated the extinction of this sect; but the institutions of the *dervishes* are upheld and perpetuated by the generally received opinion, that there exists continually among Mussulmans the legion of three hundred and fifty-six saints, which is composed of the members of these different fraternities, and which constitutes, in an invisible manner, that spiritual and celestial order, which is consecrated under the august name of *ghavs alem*, refuge of the world. Enthusiastic and pious Mahometans apprehend, that the abolition of the order of *dervishes* would draw down upon the empire and the

* Volney asserts that "the sacred dances of the *dervishes* are an imitation of the movements of the stars." (See Voyages en Syrie, et en Egypte, V. ii. p. 289. note.) The Turks however certainly do not think so, or they would be guilty of idolatry in being spectators of them. The dances of the *dervishes* more aptly represent the confusion of an enthusiast's ideas, than the order of the heavenly bodies, which indeed may, with no greater impropriety, be considered as the prototype of our national hornpipe.

† Tableau Général, V. iv. p. 620.

faithful the curses of this holy association; and the boldest free-thinkers consider this mixture of austerity and immorality, of devotion and profaneness, as a mystery which the Mussulman should adore in silence.

The *emirs* derive their descent from Fatima, the daughter of Mahomet; they are sometimes called *evladi resul allah*, sons of the prophet of God, and in their pilgrimage to his shrine at Medina, they invoke him by the name of their ancestor. They are dispersed all over the empire, and through every rank in society; and they are distinguished by wearing a green turban. Cantemir relates, that "a circumstance *hardly credible, but however true*, is observed in this family. The *emirs* before their fortieth year are men of the greatest gravity, learning, and wisdom; but after that, if they are not quite fools, yet they discover some sign of levity and stupidity."* Our countryman Sandys too asserts, "that there lives not a race of ill-favoureder people, branded, perhaps by God, for the sinne of their seducing ancestor, and their own own wicked assuming of hereditary holiness."† The Turks, on the contrary, believe that a true *emir* can have no corporal defect or blemish, as the whole race is constantly favoured with the grace and protection of the prophet. I am compelled however to declare, that the *emirs* differ neither in intellects nor features, nor any other mark of distinction, except their head-dress, from their fellow-citizens; the miracle would therefore be contradicted by the observation of the present day, and to admit its authenticity at Emirs.

* Cantemir's Ottoman History, p. 94, note. † Sandys's Travels, p. 64.

any period, we are reduced to the dilemma of allowing a still greater miracle, the undeviating fidelity of all the mistresses of this ill-favoured race since the days of the incense-breathing Fatima.*

Pilgrimage to Mecca.

The *hadj*, or pilgrimage to Mecca, is the principal act of devotion, and is accounted so meritorious as to cancel, and obtain a remission of, even the greatest sins. All Mussulmans, both male and female, of free condition, having attained the age of majority, and being in health both of body and mind, are commanded by the Koran to undertake this journey once in their lives, and that at a time when their substance is such, that half of it will suffice for the expense of the pilgrimage, and the other half is to be left behind for an honest subsistence at their return. The Koran declares, that the performance of the pilgrimage to the temple of the Lord is a duty imposed on all Mussulmans. "Those who neglect it hurt themselves alone, for the defection of the universe cannot diminish the happiness of the Self-existent." Mahomet enforces this duty on his followers, by pronouncing those who die in the wilful neglect of it to be no less liable to perdition than Jews and Christians: and the caliph Omar was so firmly persuaded of its indispensable necessity, that he not only refused the name of Mus-

* "Le prophète au retour de ses expéditions guerrières ne manquoit jamais de donner à Fathima, sa fille, des marques de sa tendresse, et de lui baiser le front, en disant chaque fois, *qu'il sentoit en elle l'odeur du paradis.*" (Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. 264.)

"Quando" (says the prophet himself) "quando subit mihi desiderium paradisi, osculor eam, et ingero linguam meam in os ejus." (Maracci, Version and Confutation of the Koran, V. i. p. 32.)

sulmans to those who neglected to perform their pilgrimage, but even declared, that if the wretches were known to him, he would burn their property, their houses, and their persons, as a punishment for their impiety. There are, however, certain impediments acknowledged to be legitimate: the slave, the minor, the infirm, the insane, and the poor, are justified before God for the non-performance of this religious duty. Nor is the believer compelled to expose himself to imminent danger; nor the woman allowed to undertake the journey, except under the guardianship of her husband or near relation, who may defend her person and her honour from attack or insult.*

The black stone, the chief object of the pilgrimage to Mecca, is called by the prophet *a ruby of Paradise.* "Verily," says he, "it shall be called upon at the last day; it shall see; it shall speak, and bear witness of those who shall have touched it in truth and sincerity of heart." This stone is the pledge of that covenant, which was entered into between the great Creator, and all the orders of spiritual existence. "Am not I your God?" said the Supreme Being at the moment of the creation, and all replied, "Yes, thou art." This act of universal faith was deposited in the centre of the stone; and at the last judgment its testimony will

* Mr. Eton complains that the Turks do not travel. He says (p. 196.) "This great source of expansion and improvement to the mind is entirely checked by the arrogant spirit of their religion." But does not their religion, on the contrary, by enjoining the pilgrimage to Mecca, promote travelling, and bring Mahometans, even from India and the extremities of Africa, to meet in one great assembly in that city?

confound those, who have slighted, or have been perverted from, the purity of their original belief.

Thus, say the Mahometan doctors, it is demonstrated, that Islamism is congenial to the nature of man; and human reason, unsubdued by human sophistry, must yield immediate assent to the divinity of its doctrines. But happy, in the opinion of the faithful, are those who have confirmed with their lips, and by their devout kisses, their strict adherence to the first and most holy of their engagements. They are honoured, during the remainder of their lives, with the veneration of their fellow citizens; they are distinguished by the appellation of *hagi*; and their beards, consecrated by their devotion, are carefully nourished in their full growth, visible tokens of their obedience to the precepts, and respect for the example of the prophet. These advantages, which the frigid devotion of Europeans is almost incapable of appreciating, can only be conceived when we estimate the exertions employed to obtain them; when we consider the nature and extent of the country which the pilgrims are obliged to traverse, the sufferings and privations which they must undergo in their long and terrible journies, and the mental energies which must be incited in order to rouse Oriental indolence to such a perilous and fatiguing enterprise. The African pilgrims returned through Cairo while the French were in possession of the country, worn to the bones with hunger and misery, so that one could with difficulty be distinguished from the other; as meagre as the desarts were arid, as extenuated as prisoners forgotten in their dungeons.*

* See Denon, Voyage dans la basse et la haute Egypte, V. i. p. 144.

Every person is believed to bear on his forehead, in characters not legible indeed by man, but inscribed by the finger of God, the accidents of his life, and the appointed time of his death; and nothing, good or ev , can happen contrary to the divine decree. Hence their common sayings, such as, *Acajak can damarda dourmaz*, "The blood predestined to flow will not remain in the artery." Yet they allow a free-will in man, in order that infidels may be left without excuse at the last judgment. "All," they say, "may be saved who will; but no man is saved, whom God has not destined to salvation."* Predestination.

* "Le Musulman qui voit sa fortune réduite en cendres ou enlevée par une main avide, l'individu frappé de la contagion, le marin qui périt au pied d'un rocher par l'inhabilité du pilote, le malade victime de l'ignorance d'un empirique, le sujet enfin qui se voit écrasé sous le poids d'une autorité arbitraire, tous se soumettent à leur malheureux sort avec une égale résignation. Le moindre murmure est taxé d'irréligion, d'attentat, de doute criminelle contre les décrets célestes. Ils regardent leur meurtrier, l'auteur de leur infortune, comme un instrument entre les mains de la Providence, qui exerce sur eux l'arrêt irrévocable de leur destinée, arrêt, disent-ils, écrit sur leur front dès avant leur naissance, et dont l'événement est par-là même au dessus de toute sagesse et de toute prévoyance humaine. Ce fatalisme est consacré sous le nom de *takdir* ou *kissmeth;* dans tous les événemens de la vie, heureux ou malheureux, ces mots sont toujours dans la bouche des Musulmans de toutes les classes et de toutes les conditions." (Tab. Gén. V. i. p. 169.)

"Que le musulman essuye une grande perte; qu'il soit dépouillé, ruiné, il dit tranquillement: C'etoit écrit, et avec ce mot il passe sans murmure de l'opulence à la misère: qu'il soit au lit de la mort, rien n'altère sa sécurité; il fait son ablution, sa prière; il a confiance en Dieu et au Prophète; il dit avec calme à son fils: Tourne-moi la tête vers la Mekke, et il meurt en paix." (Volney, Voyages en Syrie et en Egypte, V. ii. p. 331.)

"Though the Mahometan law obliges them not to abandon the city, nor their houses, nor to avoid the conversation of men infected with the pestilence where their business or calling employs them, yet they are counselled not to frequent a contagious habitation, where they have no lawful affair to invite them." (Rycaut, p. 116.)

The doctrine of fatalism, which is sufficiently powerful, when concurring with their natural indolence, to prevent their taking the necessary precautions for guarding against the infection of the plague, is however too weak to withstand actual and imminent danger. They expose themselves to contagion with indifference; but have precipitated themselves into impassable torrents, and even into the sea, to avoid the fire or the bayonet of their enemies.

It is difficult to ascertain their precise opinion of this fatality. They say it over-rules human purposes, and seem to think, that it blindly follows the direction it has received, overturning or disregarding circumstances, which in the natural order of events should have diverted its course; and that sometimes it adheres so closely to the letter of the sentence it is commissioned to execute, as to mistake the real spirit and intent of it. My house was burnt down; and a Turk of my acquaintance made me a visit of condolence. "A misfortune," said he, "was predestined to you. Thank God. It was directed against your head; but it has fallen only on your property." A pasha, to whom mischief seemed to be portended, has been removed from his office, in order that the threatened calamity might affect only himself, and be averted from the public.*

The doctrine of predestination obtained much credit as the nurse of heroism, while success was its concomitant in the Ottoman armies;

* "Constat aliquando amotos ab officio bassas propter equi lapsum, ac si magni alicujus infortunii id portentum esset, quod abrogatione officii a publica calamitate in caput privatum averruncaretur." (Busbequii, Epist. i. p. 54.)

and it was considered as being peculiarly calculated to inspire and perpetuate military ardour. It is indeed true, that, in countries where it prevails, it must be a powerful engine in the hands of government for raising or recruiting armies, as it supplies unanswerable arguments to call men into the field; but I doubt its efficacy to convince the coward that he is not more exposed to danger or death in the front of battle than in camp or in quarters. In the heat of action while flushed with success, their situation alone is of itself fully sufficient to inspire soldiers with all the necessary impetuosity. If predestination could urge motives for the unceasing exertion of their energies, when they are dejected by misfortune and dispirited by unconquerable resistance, the national prejudice would indeed be most valuable. But, on the contrary, the certainty of dying, the firm persuasion that we are arrived at the term of life, so far from preparing us for resisting death, only relaxes our endeavours to protract our existence. Religion, indeed, teaches that the sentence inscribed on men's foreheads is illegible to themselves and to their fellow-mortals; but, in the moment of despondency, all pretend to decypher it. The janizaries, after three unsuccessful attacks, are persuaded that they are fighting against Providence, and cannot legally be compelled to attempt a fourth.* The timid sultan, alarmed at the progress and insolence of rebellion, imagines he hears the decree of God in the voice of popular tumult: and a treacherous courtier, who has succeeded in effecting the ruin of a colleague, produces the sovereign's order for

* Cantemir's Ottoman history, p. 310, note.

his death, as the appointment of divine Providence, which a Mussulman should adore, instead of resisting.

Invocation of saints.

The Turks own it to be meritorious and decent to reverence all departed saints, and religiously visit their monuments: but they are chiefly commanded by their law to invoke the names of Mahomet, and the four caliphs his immediate successors, and to write them in neat characters on tablets, which they hang up in the mosques and other buildings. The blessings of Paradise they suppose to be in common, and therefore assign no particular station to their saints; and they deny to all, except Mahomet himself, any compassion for human miseries, as thinking it would be a hindrance to the perfect felicity at which they are arrived:* yet the weak and the vulgar admire in living ideots an enthusiastic devotion, an insensibility to the enjoyments and conveniences of life, and the voluntary adoption of evil. After the decease of these imaginary favourites of heaven, they hang about their tombs their

* Cantemir's Ottoman history, p. 124, note.

Such indeed appears to be the popular opinion: and the Mahometan pronounces neither the election nor the reprobation of any mortal, except those whom the prophet himself has declared to be in the enjoyment of beatitude. These are ten persons, who were co-operators with the prophet, his apostles or his scribes, and chiefly the four caliphs, his immediate successors. On them, indeed, he has conferred a weight of glory, sufficient to make the stoutest of them tremble. "Ils ont pour partage les régions les plus élevées et les plus enchantées du ciel. La félicité, dont ils jouissent dans ce séjour ravissant, est au dessus de l'intelligence humaine. L'Eternel a destiné à chacun d'eux *soixante-dix pavillons superbes*, tous éclatans d'or et de pierreries: *chacun* de ces pavillons immenses est garni de *sept cents lits* éblouissans, et *chaque lit* est entouré de *sept cents houris* ou vierges célestes." (Tab. Gén. V. i. p. 318.)

votive offerings, for the cure of diseases, and the removing of sterility and impotence.*

They have confidence in amulets and charms for preventing or delivering from mischief; and as they sometimes charitably re- Belief in the efficacy of amulets, relics, and enchantments.

* Locke, in his Essay concerning human understanding, (book i. ch. 3. § 9.) has quoted from the voyage of Baumgarten, in the language in which it was published, a passage concerning the saints who are canonized among the Turks, similar to the following story from Leunclavius, which Mr. Eton has presented to his readers in all the nudity of the English idiom; and yet, I must confess, I doubt the accuracy of the information. The indecencies of the Egyptian saints, (and those sufficiently disgusting), are indeed mentioned by modern travellers, but it would require undeniable testimony to reconcile me to the belief of such depravity being not only tolerated but approved. "Veniebant ad nos Constantinopolim ex Ægypto, Sebastianus ab Haunsperg, et Johannes a Salagasto, viri nobiles. Horum alter Salagastius nobis narrabat, Alexandriæ, quum istic ipse degeret, hujusmodi quemdam sanctum virum opinione Mahumetanorum, quum præ foribus balnei muliebris stans exeuntem e balneo fœminam quandam attentius intuitus esset, in eam furore quasi quodam correptum involasse, ac protinus humi prostratam, nec admodum fortasse repugnantem, in oculis omnium compressisse. Maritum eo facto se beatum duxisse, quod vir sanctus, impulsu divino, præ aliis cum uxore sua coïvisset." It must be recollected that the manners of the Orientals are less changeable than those of the European nations, so that what was true in the time of Leunclavius would still be found to exist with little or no modification: now Denon, who had the best opportunities of observing the manners of the Egyptians, and who certainly would not have passed over so striking a peculiarity, gives us however reason to suspect, from his silence on the subject, that both Locke and Leunclavius have been misled by inaccurate or exaggerated information. "The greatest part of the santons," says Denon, "pass their lives crouched in the angle of a wall, incessantly repeating the word *allah*, and receiving, without returning thanks, the means of subsistence. Others beat themselves on the head with stones: others again only tell their beads and sing hymns; while the most fanatic remain motionless, *naked without being indecent*, exposed to the violent rays of the sun without shewing any feeling of uneasiness, and receiving charity without expressing satisfaction." (See Voyage, &c. V. i. p. 231. V. iii. p. 45.)

commend the use of them to strangers, they must suppose their virtue to operate independent of belief in Islamism.*

That virtue may be communicated to inanimate matter from its contact with the persons of saints, or from having been used for the purposes of religion, has been an opinion universally received among Christians and Turks. The *sanjac sherif*, or standard of Mahomet, which no unbeliever should look upon with impunity, is considered as the palladium of the empire. In time of peace it is deposited in a kind of chapel within the seraglio, and religiously guarded, together with the other relics of the prophet. When the sultan in person, or the grand vizir, leads the armies against the enemies of the faith, the *sanjac sherif* is taken out of its shrine with great ceremony and many prayers, and carried to the camp, where a superb tent is erected for its reception, and forty officers, chosen from the *capigis*, or chamberlains of the palace, are appointed to carry it by turns. It is placed under the protection of all the possessors of military fiefs, and more especially confided to the care of four regiments, which derive their name from the performance of this service. The whole Mussulman population poured out from the city to salute it, on its safe return from the late Russian war. I was deterred from going myself, because of the danger which had attended some Christian spectators on a former occasion; but I was desirous of learning from a Turk with whom I was ac-

* Among the ignorant inhabitants of Turkey there seems to be a community of the advantages of talismans. I have known a Jew apply a Venetian sequin to an obstinate ulcer; a remedy which had been recommended to him by a Greek Christian out of respect for the figures of the Virgin and the Infant.

quainted, what this famous standard was. He evaded my question by assuring me that he was seized with a tremor when he beheld it, so as not to be able to gaze stedfastly upon it; and was displeased with my rallying him on the firmer nerves of the enemies of the Mussulman faith.* The veil, which is annually sent by the sultan for covering the *caaba* of Mecca, becomes intrinsically holy, and is distributed over the empire as the most valuable gift. A slip of it is sewed into the pall, which is furnished from the mosques at funerals. Pieces of it are worn by the faithful, as one of the means of grace, and an assurance of the divine protection; and these perishable materials accompany their fond possessors to the grave, as tokens of undeviating attachment to Islamism.

The belief of the baneful effects of the evil eye and of envious commendation, is prevalent among all ranks and sects of people; and as it has reigned from remote antiquity in the countries which the Ottomans possess, they may be supposed rather to have adopted than introduced it. Virgil's shepherd attributes to the malicious glances of an enemy the diseased appearance of his flock; and Pliny relates, that the Thessalian sorcerers destroyed whole harvests by speaking well of them. In Turkey, the barge of state of the sultan, as well as the pile of firewood in the court-yard of a public bath, is preserved from accident by a head of garlick. Every object, which can possibly attract attention, or excite jealousy, is secured by some counteracting influence. The

* I confess I do not feel less respect for this sacred standard from knowing, that, in its original destination, it served as the curtain of the chamber-door of Aïsché, the favorite wife of the uxorious Mahomet. (Tab. Gén. V. ii. p. 379.)

eye of the malicious observer is seduced into benediction by the sacred exclamation *masch-allah*, written in conspicuous characters, and placed the most obviously to view in the front of a house. The horse carries his rider with safety among the envious populace, while a string of blue beads dangles on his chest.* But the anxious mother doubts even the effect of the talisman, and spits in her infant's face, that it may escape unhurt from the admiration of the childless, or the jealousy of less happy parents.†

Faith in omens and dreams.

Islamism, which operated such astonishing revolutions in the moral and political state of society, was nevertheless forced to bend under the influence of the irrational opinions which had im-

* "Omnibus (pullis equinis) cervicem ambit, veluti monile, fascia amuletis plena, adversus fascinium quod præcipue metuitur." (Busbequii, Epist. iii. p. 110.) A French writer, pleasantly enough, compares these talismans to the conductors placed on buildings in order to carry off lightning.

† It is an opinion in Turkey (more common, indeed, among the Greek islanders) that a rival, by repeating certain mystical words, or performing certain magical ceremonies, at the moment of the celebration of marriage, can disappoint the wishes of the parties by suspending the exercise of virility.

"Ami lecteur, vous avez quelquefois
Ouï conter qu'on nouait l'aiguillette.
C'est une étrange et terrible recette."

Such opinions have been adduced in all countries, in order to account for the temporary embarrassment, sometimes occasioned by the novelty of situation. I knew an instance of a young and vigorous Turk, who, imputing the insipidity of his honeymoon to the influence of sorcery, crossed the Bosphorus, in order to consult a dervish, renowned for his skill in baffling the arts of the devil. Unfortunately the success of the experiment could never be known. A sudden squall of wind overset the boat, within sight of his native village, and left his unfortunate widow to bewail her virginity.

memorially prevailed among the nations of Arabia; and Mahomet, the destroyer of idolatry, fulminated in vain against the illusions of magic, and dreams, and augury. The Turks are superstitious observers of omens, and think that the pure soul of a Mussulman foresees, and is admonished of, future events in his dreams. They carefully notice the first expressions, or the first action, of their new sultan on his accession to the throne, and thence predict his character and future government. Murad the Third, having heard of his father's death, set out from Magnesia, the capital of the province which he governed, and arrived in the night at the seraglio. The officers of the court and the ministers of state did homage before his throne, and listened with anxiety to the first words which he might utter. "I am hungry," said the sultan, "let me have something to eat." Every one was immediately seized with horror and dismay, and foresaw, at the very commencement of so inauspicious a reign, the famines, the wars, and civil dissentions, which disturbed and desolated the empire during the whole period of its continuance.

Prejudice against pictures.

The Persians paint whole pictures, and commonly insert them in their historical writings. But the Turks, in general, consider it unlawful to paint, though not to describe in words, any other parts of the human body than the hands and feet of Mahomet, the body of the prophet being always concealed by the wings of legions of angels; and they firmly believe that angels can enter no house where there are portraits of men.* The Mussulman, in the per-

* "The Mahometan religion," says Mr. Eton, "has no medium of communication with the arts, and is fundamentally gloomy." (pp. 194. 196.) If Mr. Eton means

formance of the *namaz*, is ordered to throw off any parts of his dress which are made of stuffs on which are represented the figures of men or other animals; and to turn his face, during his devotions, from the sight of portraits or pictures, unless they describe only the heads of irrational animals, or pieces of inanimate nature: but foreign coin, though bearing the impression of human figures, does not invalidate their prayers, and may be carried about them even during their journey to the holy city of Mecca. The standards of many of the companies of janizaries, the ships of war, and even the coffee-houses and shops of tradesmen, are decorated with rude and grotesque representations of birds and quadrupeds, and the barge of the sultan supports a golden eagle on its prow.* We have the authority of Prince Cantemir and the Chevalier d'Ohsson, for the existence of a regular series of the portraits of all the Ottoman sovereigns in the seraglio; and I have seen a pocket-book belonging to the present sultan, containing engraved portraits of

the arts of painting and statuary, he is right; for they are banished from the mosque as rigorously as from the synagogues of the Jews, or the churches of several denominations of Christians. But, as the subjects, on which these arts are generally exercised in the churches of the Christians who admit the use of them, are tortures and death, it may be apprehended that they throw somewhat of gloom, even upon our holy religion. Architecture and the ornamental arts are consecrated as much to Islamism as to Christianity. But such is the connection between the arts, that all become vitiated in practice from the partial exclusion of any one of them.

* "Nous citerons encore l'usage constant et général des ombres chinoises, et le débit continuel, quoique toujours clandestin, de figures d'hommes et de femmes dessinées sur du papier. Les obscénités qu'elles représentent sont tellement du goût de la nation, que ceux qui paroissent avoir le plus de répugnance pour les productions du pinceau, ne se font pas scrupule de remplir leurs porte-feuilles de ces dessins scandaleux." (Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. 440.)

the most distinguished characters of our own time. It was sent to Sir Sidney Smith, that he might communicate some historical anecdotes of Admiral Lord Nelson: and I remarked among the prints, the likenesses of Louis the Sixteenth, Catherine the Second, and Marshal Suwarow.

Punishment of apostacy.

The Turks are not only encouraged to persevere in the profession of the orthodox faith by civil distinctions and the assurance of paradise, but are deterred from apostacy by the temporal punishments denounced against it. Those who abjure the Mahometan faith are stigmatized by the law with the appellation of *murtedds*, and to them no clemency can be shewn: they cannot sink into the class of *zimmys* or tributary subjects, and redeem their fault by the payment of the capitation-tax. Nothing can deliver them from death, but the abjuration of their errors, and a renewal of their faith in the doctrines of Islamism. "If the rites of the established religion are performed, and a convenient conformity observed, the Turks inquire no farther about it," and an inclination to change is indeed so rarely avowed, as almost to authorize the assertion that "executions, tortures, pains, and penalties, inflicted on account of religion, are never heard of among them."* The loss of the apostate's head has, however, in some rare instances, been the penalty of preferring the Gospel to the Koran.†

* Observations on the religion, &c. of the Turks, p. 33.

† Cantemir's Ottoman history, p. 181.—Tableau Général, V. i. p. 153.—See also (in V. iii. p. 175.) the history of the punishment of the first apostate Abd'ullah ibn-Hélal by order of Mahomet himself.

Morality. Lessons of morality are communicated to the Turkish youth in proverbs and parables; a mode of instruction than which nothing can be conceived more equivocal and injudicious. An infinite number of sayings have obtained credit and authority among the Turks; and though abstractedly good, a colour may be given, under their sanction, to actions of the most perverse tendency. The conciseness of a proverb occasions the wrong application of it more easily to escape detection: it dazzles by the neatness of its expression; and the opponent, perplexed and unable to reply, finds himself outwitted, and imagines himself to be convinced.* The mischief is greater when the quotation is from scripture, whose authority is too sacred to be questioned; and few suspect that a sentence may bear a contrary signification, when separated from the context. The Turkish morality, however, though imperfect and limited, is not fundamentally perverted, except with respect to unbelievers.

Proselytism. Of all good works, zeal for the propagation of the faith seems to be esteemed the most meritorious. No requiem is necessary for the souls of men slain in war, for they have conquered Paradise by martyrdom. Their funeral rites are different from those of men deceased according to the order of nature: they require neither ablution nor burying-sheet: the blood with which they are covered stands in the stead of legal purifications. "Wash not their bodies," says the prophet, "every wound which they bear will smell sweeter than musk in the day of judgment."

* I might quote the example of Sancho Pança, to shew of how little use is this concentrated wisdom of ages in the conduct of common life.

"If a man's feet have been sprinkled with dust in the path of the Lord, him will God preserve from hell-fire," is one of the *hadiss*, or oracular sayings of the prophet. Bajazet the Second, understanding the passage in its literal sense, carefully collected the dust, which had adhered to his clothes during his military expeditions, and in his last moments conjured the by-standers to make a brick of it, and place it in his coffin under his right arm, instead of a cushion.*

Modes of proposing the faith to unbelievers.

If to the duty of extending Mahometanism were added the vanity of making converts, and if the Turks had possessed the same spirit of loquacity and argumentation as the Greeks, the situation of those who survived the independence of their empire would have been deplorable indeed. In the ordinary commerce of life, every question among the Greeks, during their domestic discussions of the subtleties of their faith, was answered by an exposition of some mysterious and intricate doctrine.† But how much more would such impertinence, on the part of the Turks, have been aggravated by the political superiority of the teacher to his scholar. Fortunately, the contemplation of his own excellence gives the Mahometan only the sentiment of pride: he performs an act of charity in proposing his faith to the acceptance of the un-

* Cantemir's Ottoman history, p. 142.

† "If you desire a man to change a piece of silver, he informs you, wherein the Son differs from the Father: if you ask the price of a loaf, you are told, by way of reply, that the Son is inferior to the Father; and if you enquire whether the bath is ready, the answer is, that the Son was made out of nothing." (Jortin's Remarks on Eccles. hist. V. iv. p. 71.)

initiated; but his confidence in it is too firm for him to derive vanity from multiplying its adherents. "The conversion of the heart," say the Mussulmans, "belongs to God alone:" and though, from motives of duty, they hold out to strangers the advantages of adopting their faith, they do not disturb the harmony of social intercourse by disputation on its superiority, or by sophistry in its defence. They think they have done enough when they have cast the seed; and they leave it to produce fruit in its own good time.*

In their public prayers the Mahometans never ask of God the conversion of other people. But in private it frequently happens that a pious Turk, instigated by zeal or by personal attachment to a Christian or a Jew, lifts up his hands, and exclaims, "Great God! enlighten this infidel, and graciously dispose his heart to embrace thy holy religion." When devout persons, from a sense of duty, propose their faith to the acceptance of a youth, whom they esteem for his talents or his knowledge, they do it with a smiling air, and in words carefully studied so as not to give offence. The zeal of the missionary is bounded by the rules of good breeding; and a vague answer, or the abstaining from a reply, is received as an indication that the subject ought not to be resumed. The doctrine of Mahomet owes its progress less to persuasion than to force. The scimitar was the powerful instrument employed for extending it. The Jews and Christians are distinguished by

* "Turcæ pietati et officio suo convenire existimant, ut homini Christiano, de quo bene sentiant, sacrorum et religionis suæ communionem semel deferant, ut servent, si possint, certo exitio destinatum." (Busbequii, Epist. iii. p. 126.)

the name of *kitaby*, people of the book or possessors of scripture, from the idolater, whether worshipper of the heavenly bodies, or of fire, or of idols. The operation of the scimitar, with respect to them, extended no farther than to overcome the stubbornness of their hearts, and to dispose them to listen with submission, if not with conviction, to the reasoning of the doctors. Only the heathen and the idolater were threatened with extermination; while the writings of the Old and New Testament, revered even by Mahometans, were sacred titles, which established a distant relationship between the disciples of the law and the gospel, and their conquerors.* The Doric dimensions of the Jewish column are to be lengthened according to the rules of evangelical proportion, to be fitted to receive the Corinthian capital of Mahometan perfection;

* "The prophet of Mecca rejected the worship of idols and men, of stars and planets, on the rational principle that whatever rises must set, that whatever is born must die, that whatever is corruptible must decay and perish."—"The chain of inspiration was prolonged from the fall of Adam to the promulgation of the Koran. During that period—six legislators of transcendent brightness have announced to mankind the six successive revelations of various rites, but of one immutable religion. The authority and station of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Christ, and Mahomet, rise in just gradation above each other; but whosoever hates or rejects any one of the prophets is numbered with the infidels." (Gibbon's Rom. Hist. V. ix. pp. 262, 263, 264.)

The stranger, and even the Mussulman, who utters blasphemy against either Moses or Jesus Christ, is sentenced to death by the law. (See a *fetwa* to this effect, extracted by D'Ohsson from the collection published by the *mufti* Behhdjé Abd'ullah Effendi, in the Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. 520.)

The conversion of a Jew is not reputed sincere and real; "because," say the Mussulman doctors, "he rejects Jesus Christ, which alone constitutes an act of heinous impiety."

but the spot, on which it is to be erected, must first be cleared by fire and the sword from the rank luxuriance of polytheism.*

A difficulty which checked, in some instances, the progress of Christianity among the barbarians, was ingeniously eluded by the author of Islamism. In the moment of agony, when the powers of the body and the faculty of speech can no longer be exerted, it is still allowed that a sudden ray of divine inspiration may break in, and dispose the soul to a mental acknowledgment of the truth; which tardy conversion effectually secures the proselyte from final perdition.† No convert is called upon to suppose, or to admit, the damnation of his ancestors: the Jew and the Christian are spared the mortification of recanting former errors, or making retrograde motions, the most difficult of any in matters of religion.‡

* "Kill and exterminate all the *muschrikinns*" is a precept of the Koran. *Muschrikinn* is an Arabic word, signifying *worshippers of plurality*. Where Islamism is predominant, the command has sometimes been executed literally and to the full extent of its meaning. But where the Mahometan church bends under a foreign yoke, the meaning is restricted to the Arabian pagans.

† "C'est l'état où se trouvent les hommes au moment de leur mort, qui met le sceau à leur caractère de fidélité au d'infidélité. Quelle qu'ait été leur vie passée, elle n'y influe pour rien. Ainsi quiconque auroit vécu toute sa vie infidèle, s'il se convertit, est dès-lors réputé fidèle."—"La récitation de la confession de foi (qu'il suffit que l'agonisant fasse d'intention) met le sceau au salut éternel, selon cet oracle du prophète: Celui dont ces paroles, *Il n'y a point de Dieu si non Dieu*, sont les dernières que sa bouche profère, a certainement le paradis pour partage." (Tab. Gén. V. i. p. 165. V. ii. p. 296.)

‡ "The heroes of the North had submitted, with some reluctance, to believe that all their ancestors were in hell:" But "Radbod, king of the Frisons was so much

The alternative offered to the nations who had submitted to the sabre, was, either conversion to the religion of the conquerors, or tribute as the price of retaining their own. Only the idolaters, the Sabians, and the disciples of Zoroaster were excluded from the indulgence granted to the professors of every other religion. No community of opinion or belief connected them with the Mahometans; and extirpation appeared the only security against the propagation of their infectious doctrines.

Public charities.

The professors of Islamism, in the genuine spirit of piety, consider that religion is best characterized by acts of public utility. They have been accused of ostentation in their charities, and of being actuated only by the spirit of pride or superstition; but it is surely a pardonable, if not even a laudable, superstition, to suppose the Author of all good looking with complacency on the humble imitation of his perfections; and a justifiable pride, to feel the heart swell upon seeing the weary and the hungry fed and refreshed, the ignorant instructed, and the sick healed, by our beneficence. A *khan* or *caravanserai* for the accommodation of travellers,* a mosque with its schools and hospitals, a fountain, a

scandalized by this rash declaration of a missionary, that he drew back his foot, after he had entered the baptismal fount." (Gibbon's Rom. Hist. V. vi. p. 278.)

* The best description of the public buildings called *caravanserais* is given by Busbequius (Epist. i. p. 17.) " Diverti in diversorium publicum. Caravansarai Turcæ vocant. Hoc genus in ea regione usitatissimum. Vastum est ædificium, longius aliquanto quam latius, in cujus medio patet area ponendis sarcinis, et camelis, mulis, carrisque collocandis. Hanc aream plerumque circumcirca murus ambit, tres plus minus pedes altus, parieti, quo totum ædificium clauditur, hærens et inædificatus.

confound those, who have slighted, or have been perverted from, the purity of their original belief.

Thus, say the Mahometan doctors, it is demonstrated, that Islamism is congenial to the nature of man; and human reason, unsubdued by human sophistry, must yield immediate assent to the divinity of its doctrines. But happy, in the opinion of the faithful, are those who have confirmed with their lips, and by their devout kisses, their strict adherence to the first and most holy of their engagements. They are honoured, during the remainder of their lives, with the veneration of their fellow citizens; they are distinguished by the appellation of *hagi*; and their beards, consecrated by their devotion, are carefully nourished in their full growth, visible tokens of their obedience to the precepts, and respect for the example of the prophet. These advantages, which the frigid devotion of Europeans is almost incapable of appreciating, can only be conceived when we estimate the exertions employed to obtain them; when we consider the nature and extent of the country which the pilgrims are obliged to traverse, the sufferings and privations which they must undergo in their long and terrible journies, and the mental energies which must be incited in order to rouse Oriental indolence to such a perilous and fatiguing enterprise. The African pilgrims returned through Cairo while the French were in possession of the country, worn to the bones with hunger and misery, so that one could with difficulty be distinguished from the other; as meagre as the deserts were arid, as extenuated as prisoners forgotten in their dungeons.*

* See Denon, Voyage dans la basse et la haute Egypte, V. I. p. 144.

Every person is believed to bear on his forehead, in characters not legible indeed by man, but inscribed by the finger of God, the accidents of his life, and the appointed time of his death; and nothing, good or ev , can happen contrary to the divine decree. Hence their common sayings, such as, *Acajak can damarda dourmaz*, "The blood predestined to flow will not remain in the artery." Yet they allow a free-will in man, in order that infidels may be left without excuse at the last judgment. "All," they say, "may be saved who will; but no man is saved, whom God has not destined to salvation."* Predestination.

* "Le Musulman qui voit sa fortune réduite en cendres ou enlevée par une main avide, l'individu frappé de la contagion, le marin qui périt au pied d'un rocher par l'inhabilité du pilote, le malade victime de l'ignorance d'un empirique, le sujet enfin qui se voit écrasé sous le poids d'une autorité arbitraire, tous se soumettent à leur malheureux sort avec une égale résignation. Le moindre murmure est taxé d'irréligion, d'attentat, de doute criminelle contre les décrets célestes. Ils regardent leur meurtrier, l'auteur de leur infortune, comme un instrument entre les mains de la Providence, qui exerce sur eux l'arrêt irrévocable de leur destinée, arrêt, disent-ils, écrit sur leur front dès avant leur naissance, et dont l'événement est par-là même au dessus de toute sagesse et de toute prévoyance humaine. Ce fatalisme est consacré sous le nom de *takdir* ou *kissmeth*; dans tous les événemens de la vie, heureux ou malheureux, ces mots sont toujours dans la bouche des Musulmans de toutes les classes et de toutes les conditions." (Tab. Gén. V. i. p. 169.)

"Que le musulman essuye une grande perte; qu'il soit dépouillé, ruiné, il dit tranquillement: C'étoit écrit, et avec ce mot il passe sans murmure de l'opulence à la misère: qu'il soit au lit de la mort, rien n'altère sa sécurité; il fait son ablution, sa prière; il a confiance en Dieu et au Prophète; il dit avec calme à son fils: 'Tourne-moi la tête vers la Mekke, et il meurt en paix." (Volney, Voyages en Syrie et en Egypte, V. ii. p. 331.)

"Though the Mahometan law obliges them not to abandon the city, nor their houses, nor to avoid the conversation of men infected with the pestilence where their business or calling employs them, yet they are counselled not to frequent a contagious habitation, where they have no lawful affair to invite them." (Rycaut, p. 116.)

Tenderness towards brute animals.

wholly attribute to the same principle their tenderness to the inferior classes of animals, as in some cases they seem to be restrained from molesting or destroying them, as much by indolence as humanity.* The dog, as an unclean animal whose contact produces legal defilement, is rigorously excluded from their dwellings and the courts of their mosques. But they allow dogs to increase in their streets till they become an intolerable nuisance, even in the day time, and are really a formidable evil to those, who have occasion to pass through the Turkish quarter of the town at night. These animals have divided the city into districts. They jealously guard from encroachment the imaginary line which bounds their native territory; and they never transgress it, either in their pursuit of an invading dog, or in their attack on the passenger, whom they deliver over at their frontier to be worried by the neighbouring pack.† Constantinople may be considered as the paradise of

* The question scarcely appears deserving of a controversy. De Tott, whose object in writing his memoirs was to debase the Turkish character, imputes to a childish fondness for amusement their care of providing food for cats and dogs. (See Memoirs, V. i. p. 212.) D'Ohsson, on the other hand, asserts, (Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. 25.) "that they are restrained from ill-treating brute animals by a principle of compassion, the influence of which is so prevalent among them, that, according to the Turkish historians, many of the earlier princes, who were unable to resist their inclination for hunting, condemned themselves, from a scruple of conscience, to give away in alms to the poor the value of the game which they killed." Certain it is that no one is allowed to overload beasts of burthen, or to use them with cruelty. Every person who has lived in Constantinople must have remarked, that the city guards frequently interfere, (and have a right to do so), and insist upon an overloaded horse or a mule being eased of his burthen.

† The law of the Koran prohibits the slaughter of dogs and other domestic animals, except such as are fit for food. But, as I have observed also in Tartary and in several

birds: the doves feed unmolested on the corn which is conveyed in open lighters across the harbour, and they feed with such a confidence of safety that they scarcely yield a passage to the boatmen or labourers. The confused noise of the harbour is increased by the clang of sea-birds: to shoot at them, in the neighbourhood of the city, would be rash; and even in the villages on the Bosphorus inhabited by Franks, where the Turks can only censure, they never fail to reproach the murdering of them as wanton cruelty.*

cities of Russia, that the streets are filled with filthy and unowned dogs, I suppose that the Turkish toleration of them proceeds rather from custom than precept. In the capital of Turkey dogs are not without their use: they devour every digestible offal, with which the streets would otherwise be contaminated. Indeed, it is chiefly owing to them, and the declivities on which the city is built, that some degree of exterior cleanliness is preserved. The ordure of dogs is an useful article in the manufacture of Morocco leather. All the supposed causes of canine madness seem to exist in the greatest abundance in Turkey, yet that dreadful calamity is entirely unknown.

Nassuh Pasha, grand vizir to Ahmed the First, from some motive of superstition which he never chose to explain, removed all the dogs from the streets of Constantinople, and sent them over by boat-loads to the opposite coast of Asia.

* " Ils regardent comme une inhumanité criminelle, non seulement l'action de tuer les animaux, mais encore celle de les priver de leur liberté, sur-tout ceux dont la chair est interdite sur leur table. Plusieurs les achètent et les délivrent ainsi des mains des chasseurs. On voit dans toutes les villes des cages remplies d'oiseaux que l'on vend sous le nom d'*azad-couchlery*, c'est-à-dire, oiseaux à affranchir, dont les dévots paient la valeur pour les remettre en liberté." (Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. 309.)

" Est e regione diversorii nostri procera platanus, amplitudine ramorum et opacitate frondium spectanda: sub ea interdum consistunt aucupes, cum magno avicularum numero: accedunt multi, et parvo ære captivos redimunt, quas singulatim deinceps manu emittunt. Illæ fere in platanum subvolant, ubi se a carceris squallore et sordibus purgant, pinnasque explicant, pipilantes interim: Tum Turcæ qui redemerunt, *audin'*, inquiunt alter alteri, *ut sibi gratulatur, et mihi gratias agit?* Quid ergo? Adeone Pythagoræi Turcæ, ut omne animal apud eos sacrosanctum sit, nulloque vescantur?

The hog alone, of all animals, excites in the Turks a sense of loathing and abhorrence; and though permitted in the infidel quarters of some provincial towns, is scrupulously banished from the capital and its suburbs. The hog, however, is a creature destined by nature to live in filth and mire, and to cleanse the neighbourhood of the habitations of men; and it may be worth inquiry, whether the absence of so useful an animal, by deranging the order of nature, may not tend to the production, or facilitate the progress, of the plague.*

Character of the Turks;

The physical effect of climate upon the character, though its operation cannot be wholly denied, is yet so much over-ruled by moral causes, that they alone form the line of demarcation between the different inhabitants of this great empire. The austerity of the Mahometan religion gives to its votaries a certain moroseness of character, which, towards persons of a different persuasion, is heightened into superciliousness. The gravity of deportment, which such a religion necessarily generates, is left without its proper corrective, the gayety inspired by the presence and conversation of women. The Turk is usually placid, hypochondriac, and

their austerity,

irritability of temper,

Minime, imo fere a nullo abstinent, quod sit appositum, sive elixo sive assato. Ovem quidem lanienæ nasci dicunt, sed non ferunt ex earum cruciatu et tormento voluptatem quæri. Minores quidem aves, quarum cantu rura campique celebrantur, sunt qui nulla ratione adduci queant ut interficiant, imo ut caveis inclusas teneant, nimiam libertati earum injuriam sic fieri existimantes. Sed non est omnibus una sententia." (Busbequii, Epist. iii. p. 119.)

* An exception is made in favour of the "corps diplomatique," to whom a *firman* is granted for the admission of hogs into the district of Pera during the Carnival. But they make their entry at midnight, and by the light of torches.

unimpassioned; but, when the customary sedateness of his temper is ruffled, his passions, unsoftened in their expression by the influence of female manners, are furious and uncontroulable. The individual seems possessed with all the ungovernable fury of a multitude; and all ties, all attachments, all natural and moral obligations, are forgotten or trampled upon, till his rage is appeased or subsides. De Tott represents them as "seeking celebrity by murder, without having courage to commit it deliberately, and deriving from intoxication only sufficient resolution for such a crime."* But intoxication itself is a vice so rare among the Turks, that it is evident De Tott must have drawn his general conclusion from some particular instance. It has been asserted, with more truth, by a more ancient author than De Tott, that "brawls and quarrels are rare among the Turks: assassinations are unheard of; and though among men striving onward in the same career there must necessarily exist a spirit of envy and secret rancour, yet the base means of supplanting a rival candidate by slander and detraction are seldom resorted to."† The point of honour so much insisted upon, and so pernicious in its consequences, among Europeans, exerts a very feeble influence over the minds of the Turks. De Tott's observation applies rather to the Italians or the Greeks of the Ionian islands,‡ than to the

* Memoirs, V. i. p. 14.

† Montalbanus, apud Elzevir. p. 39.

‡ "The Greeks of Zante in habit imitate the Italians, but transcend them in their revenges—they make more conscience to break a fast, than to commit a murther.—But cowardice is joined with their cruelty, who dare do nothing but suddenly, upon advantages, and are ever privately armed." (Sandys's Travels, p. 7.)

Turks, among whom it is certain that anger generally evaporates in terms of reproach. The practice of duelling is confined to the soldiers and *galiongis* (or marines), if a combat can deserve the name of duel, which for the most part is decided on the spot where the offence was given, and with such weapons as are nearest at hand, or the parties may happen to wear, whether knives, or swords, or pistols. The man of rank may insult his inferior by words or even blows; and as the one derives impunity from his situation, so the other feels no farther than the real, or physical, extent of the injury. An affront received from an equal is retorted without any variation of form, and is almost immediately forgotten, if the friends of the parties interfere and propose a reconciliation. There must indeed be some exceptions to this remark, though they occur so rarely, that I cannot recollect to have heard a single instance which can justify the general assertion of Sir James Porter, that "they are vindictive beyond conception, perpetuating revenge through successive generations:"* and indeed we may appeal to the general experience of human nature, whether such a temper be not inconsistent with the constitutional apathy of the Turks; or whether the resentment, which bursts out in sudden fury, be not generally of very short duration. D'Ohsson indeed asserts, that individuals have exhibited such depravity of heart, as to cherish their projects of vengeance, and sacrifice with unrelenting barbarity the object of their resentment after an interval of forty years.† I cannot question a fact supported by such respectable

* Observations on the religion, &c. of the Turks, p. 5.

† Tableau Général, V. iv. p. 474.

testimony; neither can I consider it as an illustration of the national character, but rather as a departure from that conduct which the Mussulman law, and the manners of the Ottoman people, more naturally generate. If the circumstances of the case had been more fully explained, I have little doubt but we should discover, that this long continued anger of the Turk had been first excited by the insolence of a *rayah*, the creature or the favourite of a man in power. An affront of this nature is seldom forgotten, but is indeed as rarely given; for the *rayah*, however puffed up with arrogance towards his fellows, cautiously avoids the expression of superiority towards a Turk even in the humblest situation, as knowing, that in the ordinary course of events he may be raised to posts of the highest dignity. But if we admit among the features of the national character an implacability of temper, we may oppose to it, and in instances more frequently exhibited, the moral quality of gratitude. A benefit conferred on a Turk is seldom forgotten: the greater his elevation, the more does he feel and acknowledge the desire and the duty of repaying benefits. "I have received kindness from him in the days of humiliation and distress: I have eaten his bread and his salt:" and the obligation, so simply yet so energetically expressed, is sacred and never to be annulled.

intemperance in the use of wine.

Drunkenness is condemned by the Mussulman law and the customs of the Ottoman nation. It is, however, considered but as a venial crime, and has been indulged in by some of their greatest sultans. Selim the Second was so addicted to it, that he even obtained the surname of *Mest*, or the Drunkard; but the Turkish historians observe, in extenuation of his excesses, that they never

caused him to omit his daily prayers. Intemperance in wine had come to such an ungovernable excess among the Turks in the reign of Soliman the First, that that *virtuous* prince, says D'Ohsson, was obliged to have recourse to the most rigorous penalties to check the use of it. He carried his severity even so far, as to order melted lead to be poured down the throats of the obstinate transgressors of the precepts of the Koran. But, as a Turkish writer has well observed, "the religion of a nation is as the religion of the monarch:" for Selim the Drunkard, the son and immediate successor of Soliman, seduced the nation by his example into the most unblushing debauchery. "Let others put their trust in man," said the jovial sultan, "I throw myself into the arms of the Almighty, and resign myself to his immutable decrees. I think only of the pleasures of the day, and have no care for futurity." Murad the Fourth, seduced by the gayety and example of Becri Mustafa, not only drank wine in public, but allowed the free use of it to his subjects, and even compelled the *mufti* and *cazyaskers* to drink with him.

The practice of drinking wine is generally reprobated; but as drinking a large quantity entails no greater curse than moderation, those who have once transgressed, proceed without further scruple to perfect ebriety. Busbequius saw an old man at Constantinople, who, when he took the glass in his hand, summoned his soul to take refuge in some corner of his body, or to quit it entirely, and thereby avoid partaking of his crime or being polluted. I myself have frequently observed an habitual drunkard carefully remove his mustaches from defilement, and, after a hearty draught, distort

his face, as though he had been taking medicine. The prophet has declared, that the pens of the two recording angels are unemployed upon the actions of men in certain situations of life; of those who sleep, until they awake; of minors, until the full maturity of their reason; and of madmen, until they be restored to their senses. I conclude, rather indeed from the conduct of the Turks than from the glosses of the Mussulman doctors, that the drunkard, the voluntary madman, is also considered as not morally accountable for his conduct until his phrenzy be dissipated.

Those who intoxicate themselves with opium are stigmatized with the appellation of *teriaki*. The usual effects of that drug are that it exhilarates, lulls, and proportionally depresses, those who habituate themselves to it, and brings on premature decrepitude and ideotism. To some it is by habit rendered so necessary, that the fast of the month Ramazan, during which they are deprived of it in the day time, becomes a serious penance. I have been assured by a Turk, but I do not warrant his assertion, that in order to alleviate their sufferings, they swallow, besides their usual pill at the morning *ezann*, a certain number of pills wrapt up in several folds of paper, which they calculate will resist the powers of the stomach for different lengths of time, and be dissolved in due rotation, so as to correspond with their usual allowance. Dr. Pouqueville cites a still more remarkable fact, which, although he omitted to confirm it by his own inquiries, he says cannot reasonably be questioned *since every body agrees in asserting its truth.* M. M. Ruffin and Dantan (both dragomans attached to the service of the French legation, and both worthy members of the corps

and opium.

to which they belong), assured him, that in the year 1800 there existed in Constantinople, a Turk known to the whole town under the name of *Suleyman yeyen*, or *Soliman the taker of corrosive sublimate*. "This man," says Dr. Pouqueville, "was a rare instance of longevity. He was nearly an hundred years old when I was in Constantinople. In his early youth he had habituated himself to take opium, till at last, though he augmented his dose, it failed in producing its effect. He had heard of corrosive sublimate, and substituted the daily use of it to that of opium: his dose exceeded a drachm, and he had regularly taken it for upwards of thirty years." I am less acquainted than Dr. Pouqueville with the effects commonly produced by corrosive sublimate: but without indulging in scepticism as to the marvellous part of the story, I cannot persuade myself (unless it be an acknowledged quality of corrosive sublimate to exhilarate in the manner of opium) that even a Turk would gratuitously persist for thirty years, in the daily custom of swallowing a nauseous and poisonous draught.*

* Voyage en Morée, &c. V. ii. p. 125.

I ought not however to omit pointing out some inconsistencies in the story which are so glaring, that it is wonderful how they could have escaped Dr. Pouqueville's notice. "The first essay of this *taker of corrosive sublimate* was made in the shop of a Jewish apothecary. Suleyman called for a drachm of the mineral, diluted it in a glass of water, and drank it off, to the astonishment and terror of the apothecary, who was alarmed lest he should be accused of poisoning a Turk: he shut up his shop, and was filled with anxiety when he reflected on the consequences which he expected must necessarily ensue. But the next day, great was his surprize at the re-appearance of Suleyman, who came to his shop for a repetition of his dose." Now the shutting up of his shop must be understood as the act of absconding, for if it mean that he merely closed his window-shutters to open them again the next morning, this circumstance indicated no apprehension of danger, neither can it be considered as a precautionary

The custom of receiving and making presents is consecrated among the Oriental nations by immemorial practice, so that it seems to have acquired the force and inviolability of a law. "Whoever has dealings with the Turks," says Busbequius, "must open his purse from the first moment of his passing their frontiers, and keep it in constant activity during his residence in their country. By no other means can the Turkish austerity be relaxed, or their aversion to foreigners removed. Without this charm it would be a vain attempt to sooth or to render them tractable. The stranger owes his safety among them only to the influence of money: without it, he would experience as few comforts, as in

covetousness.

measure, and should not have been mentioned. But how can we reconcile the circumstance of the apothecary's flight with that of his personal attendance in the shop on the very next morning? This absurd story gives me an opportunity, not only of shewing that Dr. Pouqueville has listened with too much credulity to the idle tales of dragomans, but also that he has listened with too much complacency to the suggestions of vanity, in over-rating his own acquirements. Dr. Pouqueville takes occasion (V. ii. p. 218.) in relating another story, (*which in my conscience I believe to be no less false than this of Suleyman*) to insinuate that he speaks the Turkish language with so much fluency as to astonish even the natives. But in the story of the *taker of corrosive sublimate*, he evidently demonstrates that he is wholly ignorant of the Turkish language. *Suleyman yeyen*, he tells us, means *Suleyman the taker of corrosive sublimate*. To the reader unskilled in eastern literature, it must appear no less curious than it did to Moliere's "bourgeois gentilhomme," that the Turkish language should be so concise and comprehensive, as to express in a single word a whole complex sentence. *Suleyman* is the proper name of the hero of the farce, so that consequently the secret of this extraordinary strength of stomach must be sought after in a careful analysis of the word *yeyen*. Now *yeyen* is the participle present of the active verb *yemek*, "to eat," and simply signifies "eating." "Soliman the eater, or the glutton," is the only interpretation which the words will admit of, but even that is ill-expressed in Turkish by *Suleyman yeyen*.

travelling over solitudes condemned by nature to the extremes of heat or cold."* Busbequius's judgment in this instance has submitted to the guidance of his rhetoric, and he has been hurried into exaggeration. Foreign ministers of the present day express less disapprobation of the gentle importunities of the Turks, and feel less regret at the necessity of keeping their coffers continually open: an Englishman can, indeed, scarcely read without blushing for the honour of his country, the long detail and wearisome repetition of presents recorded in Dr. Wittman's journal; of snuff boxes and pelisses, of shawls and gown pieces, of sheep and even of money, which, in some instances, appear to have been expected with a greater degree of confidence than is consistent with the nature of a free gift. Among the Turks, presents from a person of equal rank or fortune are considered to denote pure and disinterested affection: the great receive them from their inferiors as marks of homage and respect, and confer them in token of favour or beneficence.† Their political institutions suppose the venality of every subdivision of government; and hence the national character for avarice. The subjection of the rayahs furnishes them with the means of satisfying this passion; hence they consider their influence, their authority, the powers of their mind, and the force of their arm, as proper objects of barter in affairs between or against

* Busbequii Epist. i. p. 26.

† "Si, à une époque quelconque, un musulman a reçu un bienfait ou une marque de générosité, il s'en fait un droit pour l'avenir, et crie à l'injustice si l'on vient à changer de conduite dans une autre occasion." (Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. 313.)

infidels, without regarding the action in a moral point of view:* and if Aristotle's judgment could be so biassed by the corrupt institutions of Greece, as to conclude from them, that Nature had ordained the barbarians to be slaves, can we wonder that such shallow reasoners as the Turks should consider the abuse which they make of their power as sanctioned by the divine approbation, from the very circumstance of its existing; and should exercise it to their own advantage, whenever the weaknesses and vices, the follies and crimes, of the rayahs afford them the means of acquiring wealth? It is in these instances that they shew their hypocrisy, and will express all the benevolence of virtue, while acting only from sordid and selfish motives. In higher life and public stations, these vices attain a greater extension; and the crimes which flow from them sometimes excite horror in indifferent auditors, but never produce remorse in the perpetrators.†

* "Tantos longinqui temporis felicitas huic genti spiritus fecit, ut nihil iniquum putet quod velit, nihil æquum quod nolit." (Busbequii Epist. ii. p. 79.)

† Petraichi, a Greek banker, had so far insinuated himself into the good graces of the court, that he was permitted to have access to the sultan. The celebrated Hassan, the *capudan pasha*, had a dragoman named Mavroyeni, a native of one of the islands in the Archipelago, whom he wished to promote to the principality of Wallachia. But as Mavroyeni was of plebeian birth, the Greek nobility violently opposed the innovation; and they prevailed upon Petraichi to exert his influence to avert an appointment so degrading to them, and so injurious to their interests. But the power of Hassan Pasha prevailed, and the unfortunate Petraichi was beheaded in the outer court of the seraglio, while clinging to the stirrup of Mavroyeni, and soliciting his interposition for a pardon, which is never refused to a prince on the day of his inauguration.

ambition. The pursuit of their own interest exerts their sagacity, and stimulates their industry. But in general it may be observed, that the interest of the moment, and not the permanent good of themselves or of society, is the standard of their actions. The ambitious man, cautious, cunning, and persevering, moves forward to the attainment of his object with undivided attention; and is not checked in his progress or pursuits, by the inferior considerations of consanguinity, friendship, or gratitude. Such, however, is the character of ambition in all countries; and it is not in Turkey alone, that power has been raised on the ruin of a patron, or a benefactor.

hypocrisy. The Turk, uncorrupted by public employments, considers sincerity as the basis of all virtue, and his word as sacred. But the Turkish courtier veils his purposes with the most impenetrable dissimulation; and the keenest observation cannot detect the tumult of his mind, in the interval between the first project and the commission of a crime, on which his life or his fortune depends.*

* The late Lord High Admiral, Hussein Pasha, commanded the expedition against the rebel governor of Widdin, and failed, as Olivier justly observes, "because he was in want of men capable of directing a siege, and soldiers better disposed for supporting the cause." It was thereupon determined, that Alo Pasha, who had joined the army with his feudal and provincial troops, should be accused before the sultan as a traitor, and the want of success in the war be imputed to him. Hussein invited him to dinner; and while the unfortunate Alo was washing his hands after the repast, and the servant spreading out a napkin before him, Hussein Pasha took up a short carabine, which was ready loaded, and shot him dead upon the sopha.

The Mussulmans, courteous and humane in their intercourse with each other, sternly refuse to unbelievers the salutation of peace. "Hence," says Cantemir, "Christian princes may easily imagine how infirm is the peace they can promise themselves from the Turks." * But the conclusion is erroneous; for they do do not refuse temporal peace, but that "which the world cannot give," and which, consistently with their religious opinion, they must suppose to be exclusively attached to a belief in Islamism. behaviour to strangers.

The common people, more bigoted to their dogmas, express more bluntly their sense of superiority over the Christians; but it is false that even they return the address of a Christian with insult. The formulary of compliments is indeed different: believers recognize each other by the benediction, sanctified by the arch-angel Rafaël in his address to Mahomet, *selam aleykum*, the peace of God be upon thee; but they reply to the civilities of an unbeliever by the polite and charitable expression, *ahbetin hayr ola*, may thy end be happy. Dr. Dallaway says, "I have observed a Turk lay aside his moroseness, and become affable and communicative, when he can do so without stepping from his dignity." I think, indeed, it would be difficult to produce, from the history of any people, an instance of more dignified courtesy, than was exhibited in the reception given by Ised Bey to Baron de Tott. Ised Bey was promoted to the rank of grand vizir; and on the third day after his installation the Baron went to the Porte to pay his respects. They had served together in the army, and were

* Cantemir, p. 76. note.

familiarly acquainted: but De Tott, instead of presuming upon former intimacy, placed himself upon the sopha at a respectful distance. "How, my old friend," said the vizir, "are you afraid to approach me?" Then opening his pelisse, and spreading it on the sopha, "sit down," said he, "on that fur; that is your proper place: though you have forgotten, it ought not to escape my memory." The multitude, says De Tott, who always act from first impressions, immediately exclaimed, with a kind of enthusiasm, "long live our new master."* Mr. Eton, pleasantly and accurately enough, compares the general behaviour of a Turk to a Christian, with that of a German baron to his vassal. But if a Turk, as not unfrequently happens, rises above the prejudices and institutions of his country, he then, in his commerce with infidels, divests himself of his predominant passions, and exercises towards them the same virtues which regulate his transactions with men of his own religion.†

* De Tott's Memoirs, V. iii. p. 201.

† Mr. Eton relates a story, calculated, *in his opinion*, to expose the incorrigible boorishness *of the Turks*, and their contempt of foreign nations. "A Turkish prisoner met a Russian officer in the streets of Cherson, and, as the dirt in the streets was over the shoes, made signs for the officer to make way for him on the pavement. The officer, *not being a violent man*, only beckoned to a soldier, who *pushed him headlong off the pavement*. The governor of the town, who saw the whole, *reprimanded the Turk*, and threatened him with the same treatment as the Russian prisoners endure at Constantinople. The Turk's answer was, "they are infidels, but I am a Mussulman;" and this procured him an *additional drubbing*." (Survey, p. 117.) To me, who have lived familiarly with the Russian officers, who know Cherson, and know that there is *no pavement* there, the whole story appears rather "un conte en l'air," than a picture of manners. Yet if it be not absolutely an invention, I apprehend the Turk

The external manners of good breeding among the Turks entirely differ from those established in the other countries of Europe. The uncovering of the head, which, with us is considered as the expression of reverence and respect, is ridiculed or reprobated among them, as an act of folly, or as indicating a contempt of propriety and decency. These and similar opinions are universal; and hence the Turks are more strongly attached to the observance of their own peculiar customs.

Their usual form of salutation is natural and graceful. In greeting an equal, they put the hand on the heart: in addressing a superior, they apply the right hand first to the mouth, and then to the forehead: when a Turk presents himself before a man of rank and dignity, he makes a profound inclination of his body, extends his right hand first towards the ground, and then raises it to his mouth and forehead: in the presence of the sovereign, he must even touch the ground before lifting the hand to the head. The air of gravity and decorum of exterior, which are common to the Ottomans, give considerable dignity to this ceremonious expression of homage or civility; and its effect is further improved by the grandeur of their ample and flowing garments. Children and subalterns express submission to their parents, and chiefs, by kissing their robe: if the superior withdraws his robe and presents his hand, and

intended to reproach *his countrymen* with behaving to their prisoners unlike Mussulmans. His answer was probably *onlar ghiaour dourkar, ben musluman em* which indeed is literally such as Mr. Eton has represented it, yet it admits more naturally of the interpretation which I have supposed: for had the Turk meant to insult the Russians, he would have said, "*you*" (and not *they*) "are infidels," *siz ghiaour sounouz*.

more especially the palm of his hand, it is received as a mark of distinguished favour. The kiss of religious fraternity is interchanged only at the two festivals of *baïram*. At other times, they figuratively express parental or filial affection by extending the hand toward the chin or the beard of the person, and then applying it to their own mouths. The father of a family, and the man of elevated rank, never rise from their seats to receive either their children, or inferiors; and by parity of reasoning, no Mussulman rises to salute an infidel whatever be his situation in life: A guest of distinction, is received at the foot of the stairs by two officers of the household, who support him under the arm as far as the entrance of the visiting chamber, where the master of the house advances to meet him, if his rank entitles him to such marks of respect. At his departure, the master of the house rises with him, and accompanies him to the door of the apartment, walking, not on his right or left side, but a few paces before him. After exchanging compliments, the stranger is reconducted by the pages to his horse or his barge.

Every traveller must have noticed, (though Dumont appears to be the first who has recorded the observation,) that the Turkish usages contrast in a singular manner with our own. This dissimilitude, which pervades the whole of their habits, is so general, even in things of apparent insignificance, as almost to indicate design rather than accident. The whole exterior of the oriental is different from ours. The European stands firm and erect, his head drawn back, his chest protruded, the point of the foot turned outwards, and the knees straight. The attitude of the Turk is less

remote from nature, and in each of these respects approaches nearer to the models which the ancient statuaries appear to have copied. Their robes are large and loose, entirely concealing the contour of the human form, encumbering motion, and ill-adapted to manly exercise. Our close and short dresses, calculated for promptitude of action, appear in their eyes to be wanting both in dignity and modesty. They reverence the beard as the symbol of manhood and the token of independence, but they practice depilation of the body from motives of cleanliness. In performing their devotions, or on entering a dwelling, they take off their shoes. In inviting a person to approach them, they use what with us is considered as a repulsive motion of the hand. In writing they trace the lines from right to left. The master of a house does the honours of his table by serving himself first from the dish: he drinks without noticing the company, and they wish him health when he has finished his draught. They lie down to sleep in their clothes. They affect a grave and phlegmatic exterior: their amusements are all of the tranquil kind: they confound with folly the noisy expression of gayety: their utterance is slow and deliberate: they even feel satisfaction in silence: they attach the idea of majesty to slowness of motion: they pass in repose all the moments of their life which are not occupied in serious business: they retire early to rest; and they rise before the sun.

It has exercised much speculation, to discover whence could originate such a total diversity of customs and ceremonies among

creatures possessing the same common nature, placed under similar circumstances, feeling the same wants, and actuated by the same appetites and passions. To some it appears to constitute the grand characteristic of the two separate classes which may be distinguished among the inhabitants of the earth. The great family of mankind has been considered as susceptible of being divided into Europeans and Asiatics, rather from their discriminate sets of habits and moral qualities, than from the position of the countries which they inhabit on the surface of the globe; and it is perhaps from respect for the authority on which this opinion is founded, that Dr. Pouqueville determines the Turks to belong in no respect to Europe, except from the corner of it which they occupy.* His assertion is indeed further corroborated by the modes of speech which are familiar among the Frank inhabitants of Constantinople, who feel themselves seduced, or compelled, from the irreconcileable nature of the objects which surround them with their ideas of European existencies, to apply the term Europe almost exclusively to those countries which are more correctly denominated Christendom. The observation itself marks penetration and discernment, as well as extensive experience and study of men and manners; but the expression appears to be incorrect and imperfect, inasmuch as it seems to attribute to climate and geographical situation, what should rather be sought for in the social institutions; in government, religion, and domestic economy, which exert a more general and uniform influence.

* Voyages en Morée, &c. V. ii. p. 142.

The nations of antiquity, if compared with those of modern Europe, will be found to possess many of those peculiarities which we have chosen to consider as exclusively characteristic of the Asiatics. The loose garments, the long beards, the gravity of manners, the custom of reclining upon couches during meals, the habitual use of the warm bath, and several other instances of similarity, may be traced among the Greeks and the Romans. European manners have but of late years been partially ingrafted on those of Russia. The Polish and Hungarian nations still exhibit traces of their Asiatic origin. It is only among the unmixed Celtic and Teutonic nations, that we discover a distinct and peculiar system of manners. It is evident therefore, since we find, even in many countries of Europe, the manners of both continents thus blended together, that the great characteristical distinction which has been observed, is independent of the arbitrary arrangements of geographers, and not less so of the natural divisions of latitudes and climates. The theory of Montesquieu, that not only inertness of body and indolence of mind, but also a spirit of submission to injury and obedience to tyranny, are naturally and necessarily induced by the heat of the climate, is sufficiently refuted by history, by actual observation, and by reason. The first and most powerful incentives to action are the wants of human nature: if the savage live in a country in which these may be easily supplied, his activity will relax, unless new desires provoke new exertions. For natural wants have their limits, and in the midst of abundance the primary motives to the exercise of the mental or bodily faculties must cease to operate on the accom-

plishment of their object. If it require the unremitting exertions of human labour to assure a scanty subsistence, greater industry will indeed be employed, but the labouring savage will scarcely attain to any mental superiority over his more indolent fellow: the latter can be animated to thought or labour only by factitious desires or artificial wants; and these must owe their creation and developement to the influence of female society: but, if by the civil institutions women are condemned to a subservient rank and insulated situation, if they be confined to their respective families, and controuled by the superiority of the men, their influence in modifying the national manners will be partial and limited, and ineffectual to generate improvement. Such however was the state of women, throughout the whole of Asia, whether in the burning peninsula of India, or on the bleak and frozen platform of Tartary. Such too it was, though somewhat in a less degree, in Greece and in Rome; and such it may still be observed to subsist in a great part of Russia. In the Sarmatian and Hunnish nations some traces of the system may even now be discovered among the people; and the Spaniards, though of European origin, resemble in many respects the Asiatic family, from their having adopted from the Arabs their system of secluding women from mixed society. The ancient Germans, on the contrary, respected and honoured women: the developement of this principle produced the almost idolatrous gallantry of the Chevaliers; the influence of it has extended to the present day, and by supplying an endless motive to exertion, has produced the modern European character. This cause indeed appears adequate to the production of that peculiar cast of character which distinguishes the European from

the Asiatic. We court the attention of women by contrasting our appearance with theirs. The muscular strength of the man is not to be concealed under a load of effeminate drapery: the guardians and protectors of women should make a proud display of their superior strength. We sacrifice to their taste or caprice the beard, the distinctive ornament of our sex, the pride and boast of perfect manhood; we assume a form less calculated to inspire respect and awe, but more compatible with female playfulness; and we endeavour, even in advanced age, to exhibit some faint resemblance of that happier and earlier period of life, which is peculiarly devoted to the service of the ladies, and blessed with their approbation. While in Turkey the naked front of age is imposed even upon the young men, with us the hyacinthine locks of youth conceal the ravages of time; and the venerable graces of old age yield to the vain attempt (absurd were it not ennobled by the motive) of still continuing to please. The sportiveness of youth is mimicked till it becomes ridiculous, because the temper of women is averse from gravity. It would be unnecessary to notice through all its effects the habitual intercourse of men with women. Whatever distinguishes the European from the Asiatic may be traced to this source, even that cleanliness of anticipation which prevails in Europe, and to which is substituted in Asia a periodical lustration from accumulated defilement.

It has already been shewn, that erroneous regulations concerning women had introduced into Europe the manners of Asia, and we may observe from history, that in those cities of Asia where the

rigour of these institutions had been unseasonably relaxed, a dissoluteness of manners prevailed, the necessary consequence of adopting, without due preparation, European manners, which can only be preserved in their purity when they are the natural result of refinement. In Antioch, the capital of the East, a contempt for female modesty and reverent age (the extremes into which European manners are most liable to fall) announced the general corruption. The *beard* of the emperor Julian became the subject of derision. The love of spectacles was the taste: private luxury and public amusements consumed the fortunes of the citizens and the public revenues: the licentiousness of the Greek was blended with the hereditary softness of the Syrian, and the natives indulged in the most intemperate enjoyment of tranquillity and opulence.*

The preposterous civilization introduced into Russia generated similar consequences, and the court of Catherine the Second can be distinguished from the capital of Syria only by the grosser character of its debaucheries. In Russia the restraints under which women had lived for ages were suddenly broken down; the inconsiderate zeal of the reformers forced them into public life, and imposed on them the task of tempering and correcting the boorishness of men. But that superiority of reason, which women from their natural delicacy and temperance are observed to retain in countries where the immoderate use of intoxicating liquors is the habitual vice of men; that purity of conduct and innocence, which seclusion no less tends to produce than virtuous principles; those

* See Gibbon's Roman History, V. iv. p. 144.

mild virtues, which ornament and refine domestic life; were unequal to stem the torrent of public corruption.

The women, without principles of conduct adapted to public life or the new situation in which they were placed, without combination of means or concert among themselves, necessarily sunk under the influence of the general contagion; and the secret history of St. Petersburg presents us with a disgusting assemblage of the most degrading vices of men, rendered more odious from being exhibited under a female form. In all climates and all countries where women exert their due influence, urbanity and civilization will be carried to the highest possible pitch. The improvement of society will always be adequate to the justice and wisdom of its institutions respecting women. In Lacedæmon alone of all the states of Greece the women were peculiarly honoured: and Xenophon declares, that the Spartans were superior to other men in the excellencies of mind and body. Where women are degraded from their rank in society, the European sinks into the Turk. Where the morality of women is perverted, the serious and manly virtues become the subject of ridicule. We triumph in our acknowledged superiority over the Asiatics, but we must, in justice, depose our laurels, like the heroes of chivalry, at the feet of our mistresses. If we are destined by nature to advance nearer towards perfection, our energies can be excited only by the hope of gaining their favour and meriting their esteem.

Virtues of the middle class.

It is in the middle rank of life, among men subsisting by their own industry, and equally removed from poverty and riches, that

we must look for the national character; and among the Turks of this class, the domestic and social virtues are united with knowledge adequate to their wants, and with patriarchal urbanity ofmanners. Honesty is the characteristic of the Turkish merchant, and distinguishes him from the Jew, the Greek, and the Armenian, against whose artifices no precaution can suffice. In the Turkish villages, where there is no mixture of Greeks, innocence of life and simplicity of manners are conspicuous, and roguery and deceit are unknown.

Intolerance is necessarily connected with a religion founded on dogmas, and which pretends exclusively to truth and infallibility. The haughty conceit of superiority appears as strong in the abject Jew, or the Christian puritan, as in the most bigoted Turk: and if in our own country it be now discoverable only in the rusticity of vulgar life, we must attribute the concealment, not the absence, of it rather to the influence of manners and philosophy, than to the spirit of religion however mild.

Clothing of the Turks.

The Turk of the capitl are somewhat removed from the simplicity of nature in their mode of cloathing their new-born infants, whom they bind and swaddle, so as necessarily to obstruct the motion of the principal organs of life, and to exhaust them with excessive perspiration; but they do not attempt by art or dress to correct or improve the human shape: the clothes of persons of both sexes and of all ages, though more in quantity than the climate seems to require, are free from ligatures. They neither confine the neck nor the waist, the wrist, the

knees, nor the feet;* and though their clothes may encumber them in quick motion, yet they sit easily and gracefully upon them when walking with their usual gravity, or when reclining on the sopha. The turban is, however, a part of the Turkish dress which is not recommended by any convenience. It is apt to overheat the head by its bulk and weight; and its form is exceedingly inconvenient to a people, whose chief exercise and diversion are in horsemanship.†

The use of the warm bath is universal among persons of both sexes, and all classes, as well for the purposes of purification from worldly and carnal stains, as for health and cleanliness. Some

The warm bath.

* Doctor Buchan says, in his Domestic Medicine, that "almost nine tenths of mankind are troubled with corns: a disease that is seldom or never occasioned but by strait shoes." It is certain that no such trouble is known in Turkey, where a disproportionate smallness of the foot is so far from being thought beautiful, that every body has shoes much larger than his feet, and thereby preserves through life the proper form and free use of his toes; advantages which, according to Doctor Buchan, the natives of this country enjoy only for a few months after their birth.

† Le turban dont on se couvre la tête, sert à caractériser les diverses classes de la nation, et les fonctions des officiers publics. For a particular description of the Turkish costume, see Tab. Gén. V. iv. Chap. ii. § 2.

" Les citoyens de Constantinople et ceux des provinces Européennes n'emploient communément à leurs turbans que de la mousseline blanche. Les Arabes se servent d'une toile bigarrée ou teinte d'une seule couleur, ainsi que les Egyptiens, les Syriens et les habitans de quelques contrées Asiatiques. Les Barbaresques s'en tiennent de préférence à une étoffe de soie garnie de fils d'or. Les Tatars n'ont jamais porté qu'un bonnet de drap vert, avec une bordure de peau d'Astracan. Enfin dans quelques cantons de l'empire, les Mahométans se couvrent la tête d'un bonnet de dra»

writers are of opinion that it induces, among the women, a habit of too great relaxation. But in the men, it certainly developes and invigorates the powers of the body. The Russians have the custom of plunging themselves into cold water, immediately on coming out of the hot bath; which I have seen them do (and I must confess with some degree of astonishment) in the severest rigour of the winter, and exposed to a bleak north east wind. Busbequius's physician, an Hungarian, used the same as a medicine at Constantinople; * but such custom, if at all practised among the Turks, is unusual.

The habitual use of the vapour bath is peculiar to that great Scythian family, from the Tartar branch of which the Turks derive their origin. The Greeks and Romans, whose language from its resemblance to the modern Russian in terms essential to the very existence of society, proves a preceding relationship, † used the warm

garni de coton, sans mousseline. Quant aux sujets étrangers à l'Islamisme, ils sont tous obligés de porter un grand bonnet de peau de mouton noir, *calpack*, ou de se couvrir la tête d'une toile de couleur foncée. Cette derniére oëeffure est presque générale en Egypte, en Syrie, et dans la plupart des provinces Asiatiques. Les insulaires Grecs de l'Archipel portent communément un bonnet de laine rouge au blanc."

* "Idem me a balneo exeuntem frigida (aqua) perfundebat; quæ res, etsi erat molesta, magnopere juvabat." (Busbequii Epist. i. p. 68.)

† See the preface to L'Evêque's History of Russia. In addition to his examples, I need only mention the word *hostis*, which, as we learn from Cicero, (Offic. L i c. 12.) had formerly signified a *stranger;* and in the Russian language it is still used, with a guttural sound of the h, in the same sense. The English word guest seems to be derived from the same source. (See Bernardi Etymologicon, vo. guest.)

bath, as it is still used in the Russian and Turkish empires, from the northern extremities of Europe to the neighbourhood of the tropic; while the Gothic families, who overspread and settled in the Western empire, suffered the vapour baths to fall into disuse.* But the custom itself is certainly derived from the North: the inhabitants of the temperate climates, and still more those in the Southern latitudes, would naturally prefer the refreshment of cold bathing. The Turks, however, whether they adopted or inherited the custom, found it established in the Eastern empire, and perpetuated the use of it.

The public baths are elegant and noble structures, built with hewn stones; the inner chambers are capacious, and paved with slabs of the rarest and most beautiful marble. Savary has described the luxuries of an Oriental bath with an enthusiasm, which nothing that I have experienced enables me to account for. A very comfortable sensation is communicated during the continuance in the heated rooms, and it is heightened into luxury, when the bather reposes himself on a couch after the ablution. But delicious repose, though the highest gratification to a Turk, can be considered by the European only as rest from pain, and can never excite the raptures of actual pleasure.

* The country of the ancient Germans is described by Tacitus as covered with woods and marshes, and the climate humid and unpleasant. The inhabitants on rising from sleep washed themselves with warm water because of the long duration of the winter: but in a moist and foggy country, where the body is naturally saturated with humidity, the use of the vapour bath is necessitated neither by luxury nor utility.

A Turkish bath consists of several apartments: the entrance is into a spacious and lofty hall, lighted from above: round the sides are high and broadbenches, on which mattresses and cushions are arranged: here the bather undresses, wraps a napkin about his waist, and puts on a pair of wooden sandals, before going into the bathing rooms.

The first chamber is but moderately warm, and is preparatory to the heat of the inner room, which is vaulted, and receives light from the dome. In the middle of the room is a marble estrade, elevated a few inches: on this the bather stretches himself at full length, and an attendant moulds or kneads the body with his hand for a considerable length of time. After this operation the bather is conducted into one of the alcoves or recesses, where there is a basin, supplied by pipes with streams of hot and cold water: the body and limbs are thoroughly cleansed by means of friction with a horse-hair bag, and washed and rubbed with a lather of perfumed soap. Here the operation ends: the bather stays a few minutes in the middle chamber, and covers himself with dry cotton napkins: thus prepared he issues out into the hall, and lies down on his bed for about half an hour.

Turkish luxuries and amusements.

The Turk, stretched at his ease in his pavillion on the banks of the Bosphorus, glides down the stream of existence without reflection on the past, and without anxiety for the future. His life is one continued and unvaried reverie. To his imagination the whole universe appears occupied in procuring him pleasure. The luxuriance of nature, and the labours of a tributary people spread

out before him whatever can excite or gratify the senses; and every wind wafts to him the productions of the world, enriched by the arts, and improved by the taste, of the industrious Europeans.

The luxuries of a Turkish life would sink however in the estimation of most people, on a comparison with the artificial enjoyments of Europe. Their houses are built in contempt of the rules of architecture: their gardens are laid out without order, and with little taste: their furniture is simple, and suited rather to the habits of a military or vagrant people, than to the usages of settled life: their meals are frugal, and neither enlivened by wine nor conversation. Every custom invites to repose, and every object inspires an indolent voluptuousness. Their delight is to recline on the soft verdure under the shade of trees, and to muse without fixing their attention, lulled by the tinkling of a fountain or the murmuring of a rivulet, and inhaling through their pipe a gently inebriating vapour. Such pleasures, the highest which the rich can enjoy, are equally within the reach of the artisan or the peasant. Under their own vines and their own fig-trees, they equally feel the pride of independence, and the uninterrupted sweets of domestic comfort. If they enjoy not the anxieties of courtship, and the triumph over coyness and modesty, their desires are inflamed and their passions are heightened, by the grace of motion, the elegance and suppleness of form, and the beautiful symmetry of shape and features. The education and modes of life of their women, though certainly too confined and too limited to domestic objects for the cultivation of talents which exercise and invigorate

the powers of the mind, yet leave them all the charms which can result from nature, and sentiment, and truth.

Conversation.

The Turks particularly delight in conversation; and their colloquial intercourse is ornamented with all the graces of a manly and polished style. Nothing can convey a more favourable idea of Turkish urbanity than to observe the natural and becoming gravity, the decent raillery, the sprightly turns of expression, and the genuine wit, with which they carry on discourse. In the long evenings of Ramazan a *meddhé*, or professed story-teller, will entertain a large company in private assemblies, or in coffee-houses, with histories, which sometimes are pleasingly marvellous, as those of the Arabian nights, sometimes a ludicrous representation of foreign or rustic manners, and sometimes political satyr. Even the common people listen to them with pleasure, and criticize with taste and judgment the construction of the fable, the intricacy and developement of the intrigue, the style and sentiments, the language and the elocution.

Story-telling.

Ombres Chinoises.

The standard of delicacy varies so much in different countries, and even among the same people at different times, that it may be unfair to judge of past ages, or of foreign manners, by a strict comparison with our own established maxims. The *Ombres Chinoises*, which in Turkey supply the want of dramatic exhibitions, are chiefly reserved for the entertainment of retired leisure. I have also seen them sometimes from the window of a coffee-house in a public street; though I confess I did not partake of the satisfaction which the populace so repeatedly expressed, at indecencies too

ludicrously absurd to excite any other feeling than derision or disgust. Young men, born in the Greek islands of the Archipelago, exercise the infamous profession of public dancers: they chiefly perform in the wine houses in Galata; but they, as well as public gladiators, who attack and defend themselves with a sword and a shield, are frequently hired to enliven the entertainment given at a marriage or a circumcision. The female dancers are Turkish women, of whom I know nothing but from description, and the imitation of their manner by other women.* Dancers and gladiators.

Of other public amusements of which the Turks are willing spectators, the chief is wrestling. Sandys describes this game as he saw it at Acre in Syria. "Here wrastle they in breeches of oyled leather, close to their thighs: their bodies naked and anointed Athletic exercises.

* "Les baladins *tschennguy* font consister leur talent, non à varier et à perfectionner leurs pas, mais à prendre différentes attitudes des plus obscènes. Plus ils y excellent, plus ils sont distingués dans la troupe et recherchés par la multitude." (Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. 424.) "La danse n'étoit ni la peinture de la joie ni celle de la gaieté, mais celle d'une volupté qui arrive très rapidement à une lasciveté d'autant plus dégoûtante, que les acteurs, toujours masculins, expriment de la manière la plus indécente les scènes que l'amour même ne permet aux deux sexes que dans l'ombre du mystère." (Denon, Voyage en Egypte, V. i. p. 135.)

"Les danseuses,—vêtues assez lestement, la tête toujours à demi couverte d'un voile, des castagnettes à la main, et les yeux tantôt languissans, tantôt étincelans,—se livrent avec plus d'expression encore que les jeunes baladins aux attitudes les plus libres et les plus obscènes." (Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. 426.) "Leur danse (celle des femmes *almés*,) fut d'abord voluptueuse; mais bientôt elle devint lascive: ce ne fut plus que l'expression grossière et indécente de l'emportement des sens. Une scène d'ivresse termina la danse." (Denon, V. i. p. 154.)

according to the ancient use, derived, as it should seem by Virgil, from the Trojans. * They rather fall by consent than by slight or violence." In Turkey the contest in wrestling is not, however, decided by a fall: the victory is determined by one of the parties being thrown on his back, and held in that posture, while his adversary recovers his feet. When the wrestlers have finished the combat, or exhausted their strength, they give each other the kiss of peace.

To ride on horseback and to throw the *djerid*, a sort of light javelin, are considered as the necessary accomplishments of a Turkish gentleman. They are excellent horsemen, and throw the *djerid* with admirable dexterity and force. I know of no exercises fitter to give grace, strength, and agility to the body.† The young men contend with each other for superiority in exercises of force or address. A common amusement is to lift a weighty stone on the palm of the hand, and after running with it a few paces, to throw it to the greatest possible distance.

* " Exercent patrias oleo labente palæstras
Nudati socii." (Æn. l. iii. v. 281.)

† " *Djerid* signifie proprement *roseau :* ce nom se donne en général à tout bâton qu'on lance à la main, selon des principes qui ont dû être ceux des Romains pour le *pilum.*—Armés de ce trait, les cavaliers entrent en lice, et courant à toute bride, ils se le lancent d'assez loin. Sitôt lancé, l'agresseur tourne bride, et celui qui fuit, poursuit et jette à son tour. Mais ce plaisir est dangereux, car il y a des bras qui lancent avec tant de roideur, que souvent le coup blesse, et même devient mortel." (Volney, Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte, V. i. chap. x. § 4.)

Physicians have observed, that "with no people is longevity more common or extended, nor health more constant;" and if we except the plague, that "Constantinople is not exposed to local disorders."* It may, however, be observed that the symptoms of the plague are so inaccurately defined, that it would be a source of endless error to attempt to relate all the phænomena of its appearances. For my own part, without being so sceptical as Busbequius's physician, I am convinced, that the report of an appearance of the plague is, in nine instances out of ten, a confession of ignorance on the part of the physician, or an over-anxiety on the part of the master of a family, who is desirous of removing a diseased servant, of the nature of whose malady he is ignorant, and consequently apprehensive. It would be superfluous for me to attempt to add any thing to the observations of the physicians, who have studied this disorder in Turkey or Egypt: though I may truly assert, that at Constantinople it excites but little alarm. I have myself, inadvertently however, made a visit to a person, who was afterwards pronounced to have died of the plague: I sat for some time by his bed-side, and even took him by the hand: and as I gave way to no apprehension, I escaped without inconvenience. A curious fact accidentally came to my knowledge, and if

General health.

The plague.

* Dr. Dallaway, p. 16. Dr. Olivier, V. i. p. 157. "The Turks are certainly not subject to the multitude of diseases which infest some other nations. Sores and wounds are managed and healed with more facility." (Dr. Wittman's Travels, p. 48.)

See also an observation to the same effect in Dr. Pouqueville's Travels, V. ii. p. 128.

the conduct be not considered as the effect of blind inconsiderate resentment and thirst of revenge, it may serve to illustrate, though it cannot explain, the Turkish opinion of the doctrine of predestination. Major General Stuart had executed the orders of General Hutchinson, in expressing to the *capudan pasha*, more forcibly than by words, the resentment, which honourable men must have felt at so flagrant a violation of the most sacred obligations, as that of the murder of the *beys* of Egypt for whose safety the British honour had been pledged. After the termination of the war General Stuart was again sent by the British government on a mission to Egypt; and on passing through Constantinople he had an audience of the principal officers of state, and among others of the *capudan pasha*. Hussein had not forgotten the discipline which he underwent in Egypt, and in appointing a day for the reception of General Stuart at the arsenal, he meditated a singular scheme of vengeance. The plague raged with some violence, and the pasha ordered two persons dangerously ill to be brought to die in a small chamber, which was kept closely shut up till General Stuart should come. In this room the pasha received his visitors, with a confidence, as to himself, in over-ruling fatalism which it is difficult to account for. He was, however, disappointed in the event; for his preparations produced no farther mischief, than alarm to the Greek prince Callimachi, who being acquainted with the circumstance, reluctantly performed the office of interpreter. I learned the story on the following day from a lady who visited the prince's family, and had heard it from his own mouth.*

* There still hangs over this infamous transaction, the murder of the Mameluke

A person infected with the plague should endeavour to remove from his mind all vain terrors and pusillanimous apprehensions, should submit to necessity with calm resignation, and view even the approaches of death with steadiness and tranquillity. In no disease is the agency of the imagination more powerful to ward off or to induce, the greatest danger. I knew a lady, who sickened immediately and died with all the symptoms of the plague, on being informed that a person, whom she had visited several days before, was dead of that disorder. The Turks from temperance, from consequent robustness of constitution, and from firmness of mind, frequently escape after infection.* In the Greek hospital, which is served by priests, the patient receives no assistance, unless from

beys, a cloud of mystery which time perhaps will dispel. Dr. Wittman's journal exculpates the *capudan pasha* from being the sole author of this treachery: it was done, as he learned at Cairo, by order of the sultan. Certain it is that the scheme was laid at Constantinople. On its failure Mr. Straton, secretary of the British embassy at Constantinople, went to Egypt with a view to the reconciliation of the Turks and Mamelukes; but the latter thwarted the intentions of the negociators, by privately quitting Giza, and removing, for greater safety, to Upper Egypt. (See Dr. Wittman's Travels, pp. 381, 383, 386, 394, 395.)

* "Fortem posce animum, et mortis timore carentem," should be the advice of the physician to a patient attacked by the plague. Fear not only disposes the body to the influence of the contagion, but counteracts all the means of cure. "La crainte et la contagion sont une même chose, dit Vanhelmont. Gaubius met en doute si les heureux seuls ne sont pas exposés aux épidémies." (Pouqueville, Voyage en Morée, &c. V. i. p. 402.)

The particular example adduced by Dr. Pouqueville in confirmation of this theory (V. i. p. 417.) I consider rather as a prolongation of his dedicatory epistle, than as an historical fact; although instances of such conduct, which the Doctor challenges history to parallel, are so common in Turkey as to occur daily, and to pass unobserved.

the consolations of religion. Various methods of treatment have been used with different success; but no medicine, or mode of treatment, has yet gained an established reputation. Busbequius's physician, who indeed seems to have doubted of the existence of the plague as a distinct disorder, considered *scordion*, or wild garlick, as a sovereign remedy, and applied it efficaciously as such. Mr. Baldwin recommended friction with oil, and an oiled shirt. * Dr. Valli, a Milanese, who obtained a more intimate acquaintance with the plague by inoculating himself, observed that indigo operated as a preventive. Whatever researches, however, are made, must come from foreigners: the Turkish indifference counteracts all efforts to subdue the plague, and there is no interference of the police, even to prevent the Greek priests of the hospital from continuing the infamous traffic of selling the clothes of the persons who have died under their care.†

* "A copious and comfortable perspiration was the result of this friction."—"Although I have to lament the failure of the oil in the cure of the plague, in the case of Gunner Cowden the artillery-man, yet I am induced to think it was useful in preventing infection to the three men confined in the lazaretto tent." (Dr. Wittman's Travels, pp. 487, 488.) Mr. Jackson in his history of the commerce of the Mediterranean, (p. 64.) says, that the *coolies*, or porters employed in the oil stores in the kingdom of Tunis, seldom eat any thing but bread and oil: they smear themselves all over with oil, and their coat is always well soaked with it. Though the plague frequently rages in Tunis in the most frightful manner, destroying many thousands of the inhabitants, yet there never was known an instance of any of the *coolies* being affected by it."

† "Garlick, vinegar, opium, laudanum, mercury, perfumes, and, according to some, wine and strong liquors, are preservatives against the plague. Panadas, cordials, a light vegetable diet, and a strict regimen are usually employed as the means of cure.

Europeans have sometimes ascribed the frequent appearance of the plague to a neglect of cleanliness On the contrary I have always observed among the Turks the greatest attention to the performance of this duty, and am surprised to find in the writings of some respectable travellers, accusations of the contrary habit. When attention to personal cleanliness is prescribed by religion, we do indeed observe that, although the letter of the precept be not transgressed, yet it is seldom strictly complied with according to the intention of the lawgiver. It is, however, difficult to suppose, that the charge of slovenly filthiness can really attach to persons who wash their faces and limbs five times every day, and perform the ablution of the whole body once at least in every week.* In the interior of the Turkish houses the greatest attention is paid to cleanliness: the chamber floors are carpeted, or covered with Egyptian matting; and though it be a general custom to leave at the foot of the staircase the boots or sandals, so that the halls and galleries are seldom soiled or dirtied, yet the floorings of the houses are regularly washed every week. A traveller (who it may be supposed has taken up the opinion too hastily, since he describes the habits of the Turks from the state of a muddy Thracian village in the winter season) concludes, that they live in the midst

Broth is pernicious, and bleeding is almost always fatal. The patient seldom suffers beyond the third or fourth day; and out of an hundred infected persons, scarcely eight or ten escape death." (Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. 386.)

* "It is however to be wished," says D'Ohsson, (V. iv. p. 382.) "that they would more frequently change their linen, and employ for some other parts of their dress only such stuffs as are capable of being washed."

of filth, breathing the very miasmata of the plague; and that the cause of this disease need not be sought for elsewhere than in their abominable negligence and nastiness. * So rash a judgment would seem scarcely to deserve the labour of confutation, were it not that the charge which it contains is implied in some degree by D'Ohsson himself, from his arranging his observations respecting the plague under the head of "cleanliness," and more directly countenanced by his admitting the suggestion, that "in Thrace this epidemical scourge may derive its existence from the unwholesome food and uncleanly habits of the people."† I can only account for the seeming incongruity of D'Ohsson's remarks in the chapter to which I allude, from the circumstance of his work having been prepared for publication by a native Frenchman, who has incorporated in the general plan, opinions on this subject gathered from his own studies, without sufficiently attend-

* See Voyage à Constantinople, p. 143.

† After having asserted, that "rien n'égale leur attention, dans l'un et l'autre sexe à se laver et à se baigner presque tous les jours, tant *pour satisfaire leur gout particulier* que pour obéir à la loi des lustrations:"—that "les maisons, les hôtels publics, les cafés, les boutiques, les magazins, les ateliers, les bains, &c. presentent par-tout un air de propreté;" D'Ohsson expresses a natural astonishment that Europeans should judge so unfavourably of the Ottomans, as to attribute to their inattention to cleanliness the periodical return of the plague and other epidemical distempers; and yet, in the very next page, the sentence occurs which I have inserted in the text. "Il n'entre pas dans le plan de notre travail, et les bornes de nos connoissances ne nous le permettent pas d'ailleurs, d'examiner si dans la Thrace cette funeste épidémie n'auroit pas *pour principe* la mauvaise nourriture et *la mal-propreté des habitans.*" (See Tab. Gén. V. iv. pp. 382, 383, 384.)

ing to their incoherency with the result of D'Ohsson's observations.*

If the cause of the plague could be accurately ascertained, reason and nature would point out the means of prevention and cure. The ancients, both Jews and Gentiles, confessed their ignorance of its origin, by calling it "the sacred malady," and considering it as an emanation of the divine wrath. The modern Greeks call the plague *thanatiko*, "the deadly," and the Turks, from an opinion that its true name is an unlucky omen, more frequently call it *mubarek*, "the propitious," from the same motive that the Greeks denominated the Furies *Eumenides*, a name of similar signification. Volney, though he knew no parts of the Turkish empire besides Egypt and Syria, asserts that Constantinople is the birth-place and principal seat of the plague, where it is perpetuated by the blind negligence of the Turks. But this opinion is controverted by the fact, that many of the French sol-

* "I have been informed, though I do not recollect by whom, that the unfortunate Rabaut de Saint-Etienne revised the "Tableau général de l'empire Othoman." He has indeed inscribed his name, as it were, in the preliminary discourse, where he particularly alludes to the favourite hypothesis of M. Bailly and himself, the existence of that primitive people from whom the most ancient nations, whose memorials or whose names have been transmitted to the present age, collected the fragments of science, which it is probable themselves had not discovered, since they were unable to reconstruct them, and which their predecessors alone seem to have formed into a connected system. "On admire," says the author of the Discours Préliminaire, (whom no one that knows, can suspect to be, D'Ohsson.) "On admire les progrès rapides de l'Europe Chrétienne dans toutes les parties des sciences. Elle a répandu la lumière sur les âges les plus reculés de l'antiquité, *dissipé les ténèbres qui couvroient le berceau des anciens peuples*; &c."

diers fell victims to the ravages of the plague during the period when Egypt remained in the power of the French, when its ports were blockaded, and all communication with other nations was cut off; while at the same time Constantinople was in a great measure free from the infection. The insalubrious state of a country and the impurity of the atmosphere seem best to account for the existence, or introduction, of the plague: but in inhabited countries, these physical evils are induced chiefly from moral causes. If the error of Agamemnon, the crime of a moment, drew down upon the Grecian army the vengeance of Apollo; if the sin of David brought pestilence upon the innocent house of Israel; how much more must the despotism of the Turkish government, a system which nature revolts at, excite the anger of heaven, and provoke the reflux of augmented evil. On every page of the Ottoman history is inscribed this instructive lesson, that not only the moral happiness of a nation is diminished, but even the sources of physical blessings are contaminated, in exact proportion to the injustice of its political institutions. "General health," says Raimond, "is inconsistent with extreme servitude." Under a tyrannical or vitiated government the culture of the earth is in a great degree neglected; the morasses are undrained, and the stagnant waters generate and diffuse corruption; the people's labour is limited to procure only the necessary means of supporting animal life; their food is insufficient and unwholesome; their cottages are low and humid; their habitations are lurking places, chosen with no regard to healthiness of situation. It is in such countries that we find the plague and the leprosy, with all their horrible con-

comitants, raised to an eminence superior even to that of the tyrant, and subjecting alike to their sway the oppressor and the oppressed. In Greece, while its inhabitants breathed freedom, the plague was transient or unknown. In Egypt, while wisdom tempered the harshness of its laws, the wind of the desert blew only temporary destruction ;* and though the periodical inundations of the Nile covered the whole surface of its valley, yet human industry, stimulated and encouraged by a provident government, drew fatness from its luxuriance, but averted the noxious effects of its exhalations. It has been calculated that during the existence of the Roman republic, a mean period of twenty-one years elapsed between each return of those epidemical distempers, which, from their general diffusion over Italy and Europe, and their fatal consequences, may in some degree be denominated pestilential. From Augustus Cæsar to the year of Christ 1680, there were ninety-seven plagues; but the mean interval between each is reduced to the term of seventeen years. Since that period, the progress of civilization among the states of Europe has re-established order in government, and opposed a barrier to epidemical disorders. The period in the history of Europe the most fertile in calamities, lies between the years 1060 and 1480, and is marked with thirty-two destructive plagues : their common interval is twelve years. But in the fourteenth century, the age when disorder and distress had attained their greatest height, Europe had been wasted with fourteen

* " Seroit-il hors de vraisemblance de dire que la peste est une émanation mortifère du vent de *samm*." (Pouqueville, V. i. p. 406.)

fatal and almost universal plagues. In the two next succeeding centuries governments began to re-assume their vigour, and removed to a greater distance this common curse of the human race, the scourge of tyranny in governors, no less than of slavish submission in the people. In the seventeenth century the plague became still less frequent, until at length it has entirely disappeared from civilized and Christian Europe: and if Europeans still possess wisdom and virtue sufficient to secure their liberties on a solid basis, we may confidently hope that its ravages will be eternally removed from our borders. May Englishmen at least, since liberty has fixed her favourite residence in this happy island, still listen to her salutary admonitions, and cherish, in its first principles, that vigour of mind and body which she alone can bestow. Hygeia herself is but the handmaid of liberty. The sacrifice which she requires, the incense whose fragrance she most delights in, is the happiness of her votaries; the gayety of youth, the temperate cheerfulness of manhood, and the serene comforts of declining life. It is she alone, whose breath disperses the noxious vapours, whose smile dispels contagion from the atmosphere, who spreads her plentiful table, and invites her children to that temperate luxury, that semi-epicurism which best contributes to habitual cheerfulness, and is the acknowledged preventive of infection and disease. *

* I am chiefly indebted to Raimond, as well for the facts as the reasoning respecting the origin of the plague. (See Histoire de l'éléphantiasis, page 104, quoted by Dr. Pouqueville in his chapter "De la peste," V. i. p. 419.)

Mourning, or any external expression of grief, is considered as a murmuring against the dispensations of Providence, and reprobated by law and custom. The mother, however, is allowed to lament the death of her son, and to mourn for three days; and though all restrain their feelings, and at most indulge in melancholy, yet they decorate the tombstones of their parents, their children, or their friends, with epitaphs expressive of their fondness and affection, of regret for their loss, and their hopelessness of finding any further enjoyment in this world. They divert their melancholy by prayers, and other acts of devotion, for the relief of the departed soul; and are frequently seen, kneeling by the side of a new made grave, and performing their pious supererogations.* Mourning.

They hasten to relieve the sufferings of the soul on its quitting the body, by almost immediate interment, and never willingly de- Interments and funeral monuments.

* The prayer peculiarly consecrated to the burial service of the Mahometans is as follows. "Have mercy, O God, on the living and dead, the present and absent, the great and small, the males and females, among thy servants. May those to whom thou hast given life, live and die in the belief and profession of Islamism. May this thy servant deceased enjoy through thy mercy peace and rest. Pour upon him the blessings of thy grace and favour. Increase the merit of his good deeds if he be found in the number of the just, and blot out his iniquities if he have sinned before thee. Grant him, O God, peace and salvation, let him approach, and continually dwell before, thy eternal throne. Save him from the torments of the tomb, and the punishment of everlasting fire. Let him be numbered among the blessed in Paradise. Let his tomb be a place of refreshment and delight. Have mercy upon him, O thou whose attribute is mercy."

fer the burial till the morrow of the decease.* Such precipitation must sometimes be productive of the most dreadful consequences; and the evil is further extended by the practice being imitated by the Jews, and the Greek and Armenian Christians.

The Turks conceal the body, during its passage to the burying ground, under a shell or coffin, called *tabut*, at the head of which is the turban, or muslin, denoting the rank, or sex, of the person. It is carried to the grave by the friends of the deceased; a duty enjoined by the prophet, who has declared that he who carries a dead body the space of forty paces, procures for himself the expiation of a great sin. The graves are shallow, and the body is protected from the immediate pressure of the earth, by thin boards placed over it obliquely. The Greeks and Armenians carry the body through the streets dressed up in its greatest finery, and on the burying ground enfold it in a winding sheet. I have myself met a procession, returning with the body of a Greek exposed on a bier, which, on the brink of the grave, had given signs of life; and I have heard of bodies being interred, notwithstanding unequivocal symptoms of animation. De Tott, with his usual levity and exaggeration, says, that " in the Turkish burying grounds the voices of some unhappy people have been heard from be-

* " On ne doit pas différer la sépulture d'un fidèle décédé; et cela en vertu de ces paroles divines " Hâtez-vous d'inhumer vos morts, pour qu'ils puissent jouir aussitôt de la béatitude éternelle, s'ils sont décédés dans la vertu et dans l'élection; et qu'au contraire, s'ils sont morts dans le vice et dans la réprobation, vous écartiez loin de vous des ames condamnées au feu de l'enfer." (Tab. Gén. V. ii. p. 298.)

neath; and they were left to perish for want of immediate relief, which was withheld that the fees of interment might not be restored."

The tomb-stone at the head of a man's grave is erect, and decorated with a turban carved in stone, which distinguishes it from that of a woman. The cemetery is a wood of cypresses, as a tree is planted near every new grave. All persons, except the sultan's families and some few of high rank, are buried without the cities; and as a grave is never again opened, a vast tract of the country is occupied by the burying fields, among which one at the head of the harbour, supposed to contain the remains of Ayub, a companion of Mahomet, who fell in the first siege of Constantinople by the Arabs, and was esteemed a saint and martyr, is distinguished by a great number of elegant Mausolea. Those on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus are preferred by many persons, because the holy cities of Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, and Damascus are situated in that quarter of the world.

The epitaphs contain the name and quality of the deceased, the day of his death, and an exhortation to the passenger to repeat the introductory chapter of the Koran, *fatihha:* they represent death as the term of human misery, congratulate the deceased on his happiness, and compare his soul to a nightingale of paradise. "May the Eternal deign to envelop his soul in a cloud of mercy and gladness, and cover his tomb with the brightness of divine light." On the tomb-stones of their children, the parents

bewail their affliction, and complain that death has plucked the rose from the garden of beauty, has torn the tender branch from the parent stock, and left a father and a mother to consume the remainder of their lives in grief and bitterness.

CHAPTER VIII.

WOMEN, AND DOMESTIC ECONOMY.

Distribution of apartments in Turkish families.—Subjection of the women;—and their privileges.—Marriage.—Polygamy and divorce.—Reciprocal duties of the husband and wife.—Domestic arrangements.—Household establishment of the women.—House furniture, and mode of life.—Amusements,—occupations,—and character of the Turkish women.—Primary motives for the seclusion of women.—Inquiry as to its effects in promoting marriages,—in enforcing the observance of the conjugal duties,—in influencing the public character.—Persons and dress of the women.—Harems of Turkish gentlemen,—and grandees.—Imperial harem.—Titles and degrees of precedency among the ladies.—Domestics and guards of honour.—State of the women.—The slave-market.—Public women.—Eunuchs.

Distribution of apartments in Turkish families.

The Turks, in their families, allot certain apartments to the women, which they distinguish by the name of *harem*, a word signifying a sacred retreat, a place of privacy and security, from which all men are excluded except the master of the family. Access is interdicted even to the nearest male relations of the

woman, except at seasons of public, or on occasions of private, rejoicing, when the father and father-in-law, the brothers, and the uncles are admitted to offer their congratulations in a short and ceremonious visit.* The women in Turkey are thus strictly confined to the society of their own sex, and the very few males whom the law allows them to see with impunity. The apartments of the men are called *selamlik*, or apartments for the reception of visitors.†

Subjection of the women;

The European, familiarized with the idea of the natural equality of the sexes, looks with pity on the situation of the women, throughout the Turkish empire, and almost the whole continent of Asia: he sees them degraded from being the associates of man and the softeners of his manners, to the rank of the mere creatures of his will and the slaves to his appetite. Controlled in all their inclinations, restrained in all their actions, watched over with indelicate observance, and forcibly constrained to regulate their life and behaviour, so as to obtain the partial, and slightly determined, favour of an imperious, and perhaps a detested, master; exposed to insult and caprice, to the torment of jealousy, or the hopelessness of ungratified desire; in some instances, torn from their pa-

* "Fratribus quidem earum videndi facultas permittitur: at maritorum fratribus non item." (Busbequii Epist. iii. p. 121.)

"Les plus proches parens, tels que les frères, les oncles, les beaux-pères, n'y sont reçus qu'à certaines époques de l'année, c'est-à-dire, dans les deux fêtes de *beyram*, et à l'occasion des noces, des couches, et de la circoncision des enfans." (Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. 318.)

† The word *harem* signifies not only the women's apartments, but also the female part of a Turkish family taken collectively.

rents, from the guardians of their infancy, and the companions of their youth, cut off from hopes, innocently but imprudently indulged, exposed to sale like the inferior classes of animals, and fluctuating, according to the will of their lord, between the situation of his servant or his mistress. In the most favourable point of view, the woman's situation appears little enviable: her husband, though constant in his affection, and dear to her from motives of gratitude and duty, is her only male acquaintance; and he must of necessity be frequently absent from her. She cannot be seen abroad with him, nor he remain constantly at home with her; his occupations or his amusements will draw him from the listless and unvaried scene of the *harem*; while his wife, without any knowledge of literature or the arts, has no relief but in the duties of her household and family. The care of her person, more than personal comfort requires, must be irksome, since, however adorned, it can excite no other passion than envy in female bosoms.

To an European lady, duties so exercised must appear painful, and such pleasures insipid. To drink coffee and eat sweetmeats, to play at chess and view the ludicrous movements of a puppet-shew, to perform ablutions and repeat set forms of prayer, would augment, instead of dissipating, the wearisomeness of existence: and yet, from the earliest period of history, the women of Asia have submitted, without a murmur, to these rigorous institutions; and the same, or nearly the same system was established in Athens and in Rome, and subsisted, till the degeneracy of manners and the progress of luxury had tarnished the glory, and sapped the foundations of these illustrious republics.

and their privileges.

It is an incontrovertible truth, that western Europe owes its high refinement to the liberty of women, and their consequent influence on public manners. But I by no means think that the happiness of Asia would be increased, or its virtue improved, by such an adoption of European customs. Nay I even suspect that, could so important a change be brought about, the women would have little reason to congratulate themselves upon it. It must not be supposed that the Turkish women are confined to their houses; on the contrary, women of all ranks indulge themselves in frequent parties abroad, on foot, in boats, or in carriages. At every public exhibition, except it be of such a nature that women cannot with propriety appear at it, they form the most numerous part of the spectators, and always occupy the most advantageous situation.* If the

* "The ladies go in coaches to see the camp as eagerly as ours did to that of Hyde-park." (Lady M. W. Montagu's Letters, V. ii. p. 181.)

The manners of the Orientals are so strict in every thing which regards the women, that no information on this subject can be obtained by inquiries. It must be by experience and observation alone that the historian can hope to obtain a glimpse of the Turkish economy. I would not advise the traveller to repeat the bold experiment of Mr. Gell, and explore at an unseasonable hour, and with some little infringement of the laws of hospitality, the secrets of the *harem*. The imitation of Ranger should I think be confined to our theatres: but, unless the observer possess something of the "quidlibet audendi" of Europeans, he will be liable to fall into the same errors as D'Ohsson, who, born a rayah, and educated in slavish principles, could never dare to fix his eyes upon a Turkish woman, nor divest himself of respect for the cudgel, the symbol of Turkish authority. "Women of a certain rank," he says, (V. iv. p. 321.) "seldom appear in public: they even consider it as derogatory to their dignity to go abroad, unless they are obliged to do so by some indispensable necessity. One seldom meets any Turkish women in the streets, except those of the inferior classes, and they are always closely veiled, observing the strictest circumspection, and never speaking to any person, even their nearest relations if they should chance to meet them. It would be

women are deprived of the society of the men, they suffer no more than the men do from want of intercourse with them. The married women are mistresses of all the domestic arrangements, are perfectly uncontrolled in the selection of their female acquaintance, and in the choice of suitable amusements. The possessions of the wife, whether originally her own or the gift of her husband, are sacredly preserved as her exclusive property, and can upon no account be reclaimed by the husband, or be confiscated to the state, though the whole of his fortune, and even his life, be doomed to forfeiture.* Instances have even occurred where the husband, by making over a great part of his property to his wife in order to preserve it from the grasp of power, has become dependent upon her for his very subsistence. The wife may bequeath the whole of her property, however acquired, by will, free of any restraint or limitation. In case of her dying intestate, the law allots a certain proportion of her estate to the surviving husband, and regulates the disposal of the remainder among the relations of the deceased.

the height of indecency in a man to stop and gaze at them; and if he should so far forget himself as to utter an equivocal expression, or take the least liberty, nothing could save him from the pursuit of the city-guards, or the resentment of the people, who would beat him to death as a just punishment for his indecent temerity."

* "Upon the whole," says Lady M. W. Montagu (V. ii. p. 124.) "I look upon the Turkish women, as the only free people in the empire: the very *divan* pays respect to them, and the grand signor himself, when a pasha is executed, never violates the privileges of the *harem*, (or women's apartments), which remains unsearched, and entire to the widow. They are queens of their slaves, whom the husband has no permission so much as to look upon, except it be an old woman or two that his lady chooses"—"neither have they much to apprehend from the resentment of their husbands, those ladies that are rich having all the money in their own hands."

If the wife has never been gratified with the assiduities and adulation of courtship and gallantry, she is however recompensed by the respect and attentions of her children; for from the sovereign to the lowest subject, the name of mother is never mentioned but with reverence, and the filial duties towards her are performed with the warmest affection.*

Marriage. Marriage is considered by the Turks merely as a civil contract. It receives its validity from the authority and registration of the *cadi*, or the magistrate of the district before whom it is solemnized, not however by the parties themselves, as neither the bride, nor any female, attends at the ceremony: the deed is executed by proxies, and signed by witnesses, who are usually the nearest relations of the two families, the *imam* of the parish, and a few friends of the parties. The presence of the *imam*, or priest, is essential in no other respect; though, in order to give additional solemnity to the ceremony, he is generally employed to pronounce a nuptial benediction on the new married couple. The contract of marriage, which is drawn up with due formality, contains a stipulation of the dowery to be settled on the wife, in the event of her surviving her husband or being repudiated by him, and also an account

* The duty of children towards their parents is acknowledged and inculcated both by the precepts of the Koran, and the example of Mahomet. In his early infancy he was deprived of his father, his mother, and his grandfather; but one of the few miracles which he performed was calling his mother Emineh from the tomb, in order that she might believe in his mission, and be no longer excluded from the enjoyment of paradise. (Tab. Gén. V. i. p. 199.) "The decree of Mahomet," says Gibbon, (Rom. Hist. V. ix. p. 323.) "that, in the sale of captives, the mothers should never be separated from their children, may suspend or moderate the censure of the historian."

of the marriage portion and other property belonging to her, which, in case of her death or separation, must be restored or accounted for agreeably to the inventory. Marriage differs from concubinage only in this stipulation of a dowery, or settlement on the wife: and the privilege it confers on the woman is only the establishment of her claim, exclusively, to the caresses of her husband on the evening of *djumm 'a guiun*. If this duty be complied with, his irregularity at other times is not legally a ground of complaint.* The children of the bondswomen and the free are equally legitimate.† In addition to marriage and concubinage, there is another peculiar mode of cohabitation in Turkey, which indeed is little resorted to: this is called *kapin*, and is a contract, obligatory

* *Djumm 'a guiun* is the name of the day which commences at sunset on Thursday, and ends at the same hour on Friday.

"Una nox singulis hebdomadibus diei Veneris apud eos festi, uxori reservatur, quæ sine querela defraudare eam maritus non potest; cæteræ noctes ejus arbitrii sunt." (Busbequii Epist. iii. p. 122.)

Dr. Johnson's Irene, who proposed, when she should be queen, to restore the splendour of the cities, rebuild the palaces, and even authorize the public exercise of the religion, of the Greeks, was not aware of the very limited portion of authority to be conferred upon her by her marriage with the sultan.

† "There are many among the Turks," says D'Ohsson, (V. iv. p. 343.) "who prefer the society of their female slaves to the restraints of matrimony. In Europe these women are improperly termed concubines, since their connection with their masters is permitted, and their children are no less legitimate than those of the wife." I know not whether the circumstances mentioned by D'Ohsson will be considered as sufficient to remove all slur or reproach from the character of these ladies, and I cannot suppose that he attaches the same ideas to his words, as Europeans usually do, when he asserts, (p. 346.) that "to live with a mistress is an irregularity unknown among Mahometans."

on the parties for a limited time, fixing the period of their union and the conditions of their separation, and recognizing the duties to be performed by the father towards the children.

polygamy and divorce.

Polygamy and divorce are authorized by the law of Mahomet; but the Turks, without much speculative reasoning on the subject, seldom resort in practice to institutions so injurious to the interests of society. In instances of polygamy all the wives are either purchased slaves, or women of an inferior condition to the husband, and they rank in estimation according to the number, or the sex, of their children: but if a man has married a woman of equal rank with himself, she constantly retains her dignity: and if she admit of rivals, which is frequently guarded against by the marriage contract, they either have a separate and inferior establishment in the same harem, or live with her as her servants.*

Divorces seldom take place: incompatibility of temper is the less felt as the parties do not from custom live much together. The usual, and only allowable, cause for divorce in our country would meet with severer reprobation in Turkey, and the marriage would be dissolved by the death of the party offending. The husband who inflicts the punishment of instant death on his inconstant wife, is not only held innocent by the law, but may even found his

* "Lorsque le *harem* est composé de plusieurs femmes, chacune a sa table particulière, attendu que, dans l'économie domestique, tout est absolument distinct et séparé entre elles. Cet ordre étoit nécessaire pour éviter les tristes effets de la jalousie et de la rivalité. Il est peu d'exemples que deux femmes vivent ensemble." (Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. 31.)

claim to the inheritance of her property on the murder which he himself has committed.* Sterility, which entails more disgrace among the Turks than with us, is the chief cause of divorces. The wife too, if she have cause to complain either of neglect of conjugal duties on the part of her husband, or of the want of the necessaries of life, or of the commission or apprehension of violence, may appeal to the law and obtain a divorce.† The husband who has formally repudiated his wife, cannot take her again until she have been remarried and again divorced. The law not only justifies whatever means a woman may employ to preserve herself from shame or injury, but even commands her to employ poison, if it be necessary, in order to defend her honour from violence.

* Mercy and forgiveness are however recommended by the example of the prophet. His favourite wife *Aïsché* or Ayesha, (between whose age and that of Mahomet there was indeed a disparity of forty years,) inconsiderately stepped from the litter in which she usually followed her husband in his military expeditions, and absented herself for a moment in a neighbouring wood. Neither the venerable character of her husband, nor the purity of her own intentions could preserve her conduct from calumny. The prophet divorced her on his return to Medina; but after a few days, re-admitted her to his embraces, on being assured of her innocence by a divine revelation *ayeth*. The heretical Persians still persist in traducing her reputation; but the Turks religiously reject the insinuation, that her fond husband was only duped into the disbelief of her infidelity.

† "In causis quibus divortium mulieribus permissum hæ continentur: si mariti debitis eas alimentis fraudent; item si præter naturæ præscriptum (quod nefas Turcis familiare) eis abuti conentur. Tunc ad judicem profectæ se non posse diutius apud maritum manere testantur: judice causam quærente, nihil respondent, sed exutum pede calceum invertunt. Id judici abominandæ veneris indicium est." (Busbequii Epist. iii. p. 122.)

The same privilege is extended to the wife, who after having been separated from her husband by the ceremony of divorce, finds herself compelled to resist his usurpation of the privileges which he has renounced.

Reciprocal duties of the husband and wife.

Mahomet himself, a man of warm imagination, disposed to enthusiasm which necessarily heightens the passions, and naturally a lover of women, did not deprive them of the rank and honour due to them, either in civil society, or in the enjoyment of paradise. The Koran expressly declares, that in the future distribution of rewards and punishments, God will make no distinction of sexes; but the prophet does not insult the modesty of women by unveiling to their imagination a paradise of sensual pleasures. The dangerous secret was left to be divulged in modern times, and the grave president Montesquieu has exhibited, in his description of the female elysium, all the aids and instruments of luxury. A meadow of lively verdure enamelled with beautiful flowers first receives the victim who has escaped from an earthly harem, a rivulet meanders through the midst of it, the birds warble through the surrounding groves, and a superb palace, placed in a magnificent garden, terminates the prospect, and contains within its walls the company of celestial youths, whose occupation through eternity is only to contribute to her amusement.* Mahomet, knowing the influence of women over men, exhorted his followers not to marry

* Lettres Persannes, lettre cxli. "Je vous demande grace, leur disoit Zuléma, car je vois bien que vous êtes gens à n'en demander jamais."

unconverted polytheists;* but he provided for the connubial happiness of the female believers by enforcing on their husbands the sanctity of the conjugal embrace, and the sin of neglecting it. The man is reminded of the necessity of performing this sacred duty by the comparison which is drawn between it and our daily and necessary occupations. "Your wives," says the writer of the Koran, "are as your garments;" garments, not to be laid aside even in the month of Ramazan, the season of fasting and penitence: and, in another passage, "Your wives are your tillage, labour therein for the good of your souls."† The wives are enjoined to honour their husbands; but the husband is instructed to return the honour, diminished however by one degree, a gradation not very easily to be ascertained. The harsh measure divorce is recommended to be tempered by the gentleness and politeness of the method of effecting it, and softened by benefits and presents. Whatever has been given to the wives they retain; and after waiting the legal period of four months, or a longer period of convention during which their maintenance is provided for, they are at liberty to seek for a more sedulous, or less capricious partner.

* Mussulmans are strictly prohibited from forming alliances with idolaters. The faithful may marry Jewish or Christian women, and their children must be Mussulmans; but the female believer is forbidden to unite herself with an infidel.

† "Voilà des préceptes qui rendent la vie d'un véritable Musulman bien laborieuse. Celui qui a les quatre femmes établies par la loi et seulement autant de concubines, ou d'esclaves, ne doit-il pas être accablé de tant de vêtemens?" (Lett. Pers. lettre cxiv.)

"Non è cosa, che non tentino pel fomite alla libidine, valendosi fuor di misura d'ogni rimedio violento, che à quell' intento non giova; e pregiudica alla salute." (Marsigli, Stato milit. dell' imp. Ottom. V. i. p. 37.)

Domestic arrangements.

Hume supposes that the Asiatic manners are destructive of social intercourse, and that no one dares introduce a friend to his house or table, lest he should bring home a rival: but in this he is mistaken. The household establishments are separate and unconnected; and the Turk, like Hume's epicurean, quits the conversation of his friends and the pleasures of the table, for the company of his wife or mistress in a distinct suite of apartments.

Household establishment of the women.

An incorrect and humiliating idea is conveyed, though perhaps unintentionally, of the Turkish harem, by the assertion, that "females among the Turks lead a gregarious life, and are associated together in small apartments."* A numerous harem can however be collected only in the palaces of the richest and greatest of the Turks, and whatever privations, in other respects, the women may suffer, they are certainly not huddled together as a flock, nor penned up in small apartments. In a Turkish house there are no chambers exclusively appropriated as bed rooms: the usual way of sleeping is on a light mattress, which is spread on the sopha or in the middle of the chamber, and sometimes in the gallery, according to the season of the year and the temperature of the weather. Neither men nor women lie down completely undressed, but have night-dresses, resembling, except in the inferior quality of the materials, the under-clothes which they wear in the day. The bed-furniture, which in its greatest perfection consists but of a quilted coverlet, a sheet, and a pillow, is laid up during the day in a closet or press which every chamber is provided with. Every room in a

House furniture, and mode of life.

* Dallaway, Constant. ancient and modern, p. 107.

Turkish house serves for every purpose; and the furniture in all differs only in fineness of quality or richness of ornament. The sopha extends round three sides of the chamber on a frame raised a few inches from the floor. The *minder*, or mattresses, as well as the cushions, are stuffed with wool, and smaller cushions for the more distinguished guests are filled with cotton. The *macat*, or covering, is of woollen or silk stuff, bordered with a deep fringe; and the cushions are of velvet, or of gold and silver tissue. The floor is covered, according to the season, with carpets or Egyptian matting, except a small part near the entrance where the *papuches*, or slippers, are put off. The use of chairs and tables is almost unknown. The dinner is served up on a large circular tray of copper, tinned, which is placed on a low stool, at a corner of the sopha, and the guests sit round it cross-legged, the youngest or least honourable sitting on cushions placed on the floor. In the ladies apartments the *tanndur* usually occupies the corner of the sopha during the winter months, and besides being used for warmth, answers all the purposes of a table and a toilette. In most houses there is no chimney except in the kitchen. Persons of rank or property easily brave the severity of the winter in their spacious apartments, wrapt up in the most costly and comfortable furs: sometimes a chafing dish, called *mangal*, is placed in the centre of the chamber; but the use of the *tanndur* is general in the boudoirs of the harem. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu has described this singular invention, which I believe is peculiar to Constantinople and its neighbourhood, as the use of it does not extend beyond the sea-coast of Asia Minor, nor to the northward beyond the Danube. Its heat, which is confined under coverlets, is moderate and agree-

able; but being unequally diffused, and directed chiefly to the legs and feet, besides injuriously affecting those parts, disposes the body more easily to catch cold.*

Amusements.

Smoking is an universal custom in the Turkish harem, but Lady Mary Wortley Montagu prudently excludes so disgusting a particular from her portrait of the Turkish ladies. I cannot assert from experience, that the most offensive consequence of this custom is corrected by the chewing of mastic, which it is supposed whitens and preserves the teeth, and by stimulating the salival glands, assists digestion. Coffee and confections, which in Turkey are delicious, are taken as elegant and necessary refreshments, and are always presented to visitors. Sherbet and perfumes are more ceremoniously introduced, as denoting greater respect.†

* The *tamdur* is in the form of a table, of the height of two or three feet, with a bottom on which is placed a chafing dish of earthenware or copper, containing a small quantity of hot ashes. The company sit around it with their legs under the carpet or quilted coverlet, which is thrown over it. D'Ohsson supposes that European ladies would willingly adopt it, and would experience less inconvenience from the moderate heat of the *tamdur* than from the brisk action of the chimney-fire. Olivier, who was at Pera in the year 1794 when the French were separated from "la bonne société," describes the *abuses* of this utensil in the families of the inferior Greeks and Franks. (See Lady M. W. Montagu's Letters, V. ii. p. 219. Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. 175. Olivier's Travels, V. i. p. 149.

† Doctor Dallaway visited the palace of Bey Khan Sultan on the European shore of the Bosphorus, "where," he says, (p. 140.) "a confection of exquisite flavour was offered, called the *conserve of rubies*, as well from the richness of the other ingredients, as that *pounded rubies* were a part of the composition. So capricious are their preparations in the confectionary art." The fact, since Doctor Dallaway asserts it, cannot be called in question; but we must surely admire the *dura ilia* of the delicate sultana.

The more elegant occupations of the *harem* are working in embroidery, and superintending the education of young ladies, who are taught to express themselves with the greatest purity and correctness of language, to read, and to write a neat and legible hand. These qualifications are indispensable to the education of a lady of fashion; and singing, dancing, and music are also considered as polite accomplishments. Whether their dances be of the same character as those of the professed actresses I cannot pretend to determine: they certainly are not all so, and I should think they rather resemble the *romaika*, or choral dances of the Greek women.* occupations.

Such are the studies and qualifications of young ladies of the superior ranks, whose leisure and fortune enable them to acquire those elegant arts which constitute the distinguishing characteris- and character of the Turkish women.

D'Ohsson (Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. 73.) mentions a similar composition, *djewakir-madjoumy*, electuary of precious stones: but I am so incredulous as to suppose that both these gentlemen have been misled by a sounding name. I indeed discover from the writings of the Christian historians of the Ottoman empire, that pounded diamonds have sometimes been made use of by the sultans; for it is related that Selim the First administered a dose of this confection to his father, by the hands of a Jewish physician whose head he immediately caused to be cut off, and so efficacious was this preparation in the confectionary art, that Bajazet died on the road before he could reach Demotica, the place of his banishment. (See D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 801.)

* The account here given differs considerably from that of the Chevalier D'Ohsson. (See Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. 333.) But as I have it from persons engaged to give lessons to young ladies in the empress-dowager's palace, I think there can be no reason to doubt the veracity of it.

tics of polished society, or render them delightful companions in retirement. They are also most carefully instructed in the decorum of manners and every thing belonging to the dignity of their rank in life, as well as in those arts which add poignancy to their personal attractions. The amiable character of their sex is not perverted by their institutions; and if their soft and voluptuous caresses excite desire, the flame is cherished and refined by their native delicacy, their gentleness and modesty, and their engaging sensibility. They are endeared to their husbands by the exercise of all the conjugal and parental duties, and the charm which they diffuse over every circumstance and change of life. Can we refuse them the virtues of compassion and humanity, when Denon tells us, that, during the insurrection at Cairo, an old lady in the neighbourhood, in spite of national resentment and religious prejudices, offered her harem to a number of Frenchmen as an asylum against the fury of the populace?* Or can any thing more excite our admiration of the Turkish women than the heroic behaviour of those who survived the storming of Oczacow? It was on the festival of Saint Nicholas in the month of December, in a winter unusually severe, that about four hundred Turkish women were put under the superintendance of Mr. Eton, and huddled together under tents, though it froze exceedingly hard, and they suffered dreadfully from cold and nakedness. "I observed," says Mr. Eton, "that there remained a perfect silence among them: not one woman weeping or lamenting, at least loudly,

* Denon, Voyage dans la basse et la haute Egypte, V. i. p. 205.

though every one perhaps had lost a parent, a child, or a husband."*

In the early state of Turkish society, while the men were employed in the labours of the field or the exercise of the chace, the women were devoted exclusively to domestic occupations. The same habits of separation continued, when their modes of life, in other respects, were changed: and the precepts of their new religion defined with rigour the duties to be observed by either sex. But the precautions used in Turkey to conceal the women from the public view, whether the custom originated with themselves or

Primary motives for the seclusion of women.

* See Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 120. Prince Potemkin, according to Mr. Eton (p. 118.), was a very humane man: but had Mr. Eton himself a correct idea of humanity, when he tells us, that this humane man "might have taken the fortress on the first of July, but purposely protracted the siege, though he saw his own troops perishing from the excess of the cold?" (Pref. p. xiii.) "As I spoke Turkish," says Mr. Eton, "I had the guard of that post, and the superintendance of the women that night." Here is a strong and positive assertion, on the accuracy of which must depend our confidence in Mr. Eton's qualifications, and our belief in the general correctness of his statements. Now Mr. Eton relates, that when the Russian officers came to distribute the prisoners in different parts, some Turks objected to the separation of friends and relations, but several of the women said to the Turks, *let them* do as they will, they are our masters now. "In the two first words," says Mr. Eton, (p. 118.) "they expressed the same notion of their superiority as the men had done, but the remainder of the sentence is not uncharacteristic of Turkish women in general." What Mr. Eton really means by this sly insinuation, he alone can explain. I shall confine myself to a philological remark. The Turkish verbs are not conjugated, as ours, by means of auxiliaries: the two first words are no more expressed in Turkish, in the phrase "let them do," than they are in Latin. *Etsinler* is the third person plural of the imperative of the verb *etmek* (to do): and I think it would puzzle Mr. Eton to point out in which of the three component syllables of this word he was able to detect that expression of superiority, at which himself and the humane Russians were so much offended.

was adopted from other nations, are less to be attributed to jealousy and suspicion, than to respect for the persons, and reverence for the modesty, of women; and they are perhaps to be considered as an homage to female beauty, which the Turks think no man can behold with indifference, or with mental purity. In their houses the women are screened from intrusive curiosity, and their dress, when abroad, without any pretensions to elegance, muffles their bodies, and seems purposely designed for concealment. The thin covering of muslin which veils only a part of their faces, leaves them, however, perfectly free to observe the persons of the men. If jealousy dictated such a disguise, it could not more effectually have defeated its own purposes; for the spirit of intrigue could scarcely suggest a more happy expedient to elude vigilance, and to deceive, without alarming, suspicion. The means of preventing indiscretion by watching over the women's conduct must necessarily be limited to the idle, or the rich; so that, if there be equal virtue in Turkey as in Christendom, there is at least equal merit.

Inquiry as to its effects in promoting marriages.

In a general survey of the Turkish empire, there are perhaps as few unmarried persons of either sex, as in other countries; so that the seclusion of women does not appear to operate as an impediment to matrimony: for though ambitious men defer their domestic establishments till they have advanced or secured their fortunes, yet the husbandman, the artisan, and the tradesman generally contract marriage as a preliminary to their settling themselves in business. Indeed it would not be allowed to an unmarried man, or which is considered as the same thing, to a person who has

woman in his family, to keep a house and an independent establishment in Constantinople. The evil then extends no farther, than to restrain girls from general conversation, and to confine the attention of wives to their conjugal duties. It cannot by any means be complained of as a hardship upon the women, or a partiality to the other sex.

in enforcing the observance of the conjugal duties,

"The morality of Turkish women," says Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, "is as with us, and they do not commit one crime the less for not being Christians:" but intrigues, except among the indigent who are not overlooked by servants or duennas, are attended with obstacles not easily surmounted.* Some authors mention the bath as a rendezvous of lovers, but I do not hesitate to assert, that no assignation was ever made at a public bath.†

* I point out, without commenting on, the incorrectness or the exaggeration in D'Ohsson's account of whatever relates to the Turkish women.

"On sait qu'il est presque impossible aux femmes de manquer aux lois de la décence et de la pudeur, si naturelles d'ailleurs à leur sexe. *Renfermées dans leur appartement, à peine y respirent-elles un air libre;* toutes les croisées qui donnent au-dehors ou sur la cour de la maison, sont garnies de ce qu'on appelle ailleurs si improprement des jalousies. Celles qui ont un jardin n'ont pas même la liberté de s'y promener en tout temps. Pour le leur accorder, il faut être sûr qu'elles n'y rencontreront jamais les pas d'un mortel. Veulent-elles aller au bain public, voir leurs parentes, faire des emplettes, ou se promener, elles sont toujours accompagnées des autres dames de la maison, suivies de leurs esclaves et gardées par des eunoques, ou par des domestiques spécialement préposés pour cet objet. Excepté celles qui sont avancées en âge, aucune ne peut aller à la mosquée: d'accord avec les mœurs, la loi les en dispense." (Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. 220.)

† This mistake, I apprehend, may be traced to a defective quotation from Busbequius, who says (Epist. iii. p. 125.) "Mulieres inter se amant, conciliatrices vero nefariorum amorum sunt balneæ."

Others mention Jewesses and Armenian women as the conductors of intrigues, and they allege that correspondence is carried on between the lovers by means of the flowers of a nosegay. Such means are indeed possible, and so are a thousand others, which have been, and no doubt are, daily resorted to in Constantinople, as in every populous and luxurious capital.

If a Christian be detected in a criminal intercourse with a Turkish woman, he is obliged not only to marry her, but to espouse her religion, otherwise he is irremissibly condemned to death.* The only intrigue with a foreigner ever mentioned to me on undoubted authority, and with circumstances analagous to Turkish customs, was with an English officer, employed in the Turkish service at Ruschiuk on the Danube during the last Russian war; and nothing could be more simple than its contrivance. The lady, who knew no language but the Turkish, came to the house of the officer, whose knowledge of the language did not facilitate communication between them; the exposure of a beautiful face explained the motive of her visit. Their intimacy was detected, and the gentleman sought protection from Sir Robert Murray Keith, who was then negociating the peace at Sistove; and the lady, as he afterwards heard, justified her conduct, or at least was pardoned by her husband.

* Lord Sandwich says, (p. 158.) that "their measures for procuring opportunities of frequent interviews are always so well laid, that a discovery is next to impossible." But, as his Lordship candidly confesses that he does not speak from his own experience, his testimony only authorizes a suspicion, that a secret so well kept has no foundation in reality.

It cannot be denied that the severity of the Turkish institutions must be productive of incorrectness of taste, and irregularity of conduct in both sexes.* Whether these partial inconveniences are overbalanced by more general advantages, would be a matter of great difficulty and delicacy to decide. The great corrective of public depravity is domestic manners, and if the women be too scrupulously, yet they are effectually, removed from the chief seductions to irregularity. The interior of their houses is pure and untainted with vice and obscenity. Domestic virtue is honoured with public approbation, and misconduct is censured with unrelenting severity. in influencing the public character.

We are told that pleasure is the chief duty of Turkish wives; and it may be true of the wives of the voluptuous; yet even these shew at least so much reverence to their children and their families, as to conceal from observation the workings of the passions, and sacrifice so little duty that few mothers neglect the care of their infants.† Those, who have observed them in their families,

* "Cum vero vulgus mulierum promiscuis sui sexus balneis utatur, eo plures, cum servis suis liberis, aggregantur; in quibus puellæ multæ sunt eximia forma, ex diversis urbis regionibus variis casibus collectæ, quæ cum nudæ ut in balneis reliquarum oculis exponantur, mirum in quibusdam excitant amores, nihilo minores quam quibus apud nos adolescentis animos virgines commovent." (Busbequii Epist. iii. p. 122.)

"Quod de mulieribus, idem et de pueris sentiunt, quorum amoribus, si qua alia gens, præcipue Turcæ indulgent." (Georgii Dousæ iter Constant. ap. Gronovium, V. vi. p. 3330.)

† "Toutes les mères, en général, sans en excepter les sultanes, nourissent elles-mêmes leurs enfans." (Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. 331.)

Mahomet himself is never more amiable than when he enforces this pleasing duty.

acknowledge that their highest pleasures are the caresses of an infant whom they nourish with their milk. The harem is indeed susceptible of voluptuousness: Lady M. W. Montagu has described it with accuracy, though not without enthusiasm; but the president Montesquieu has heightened its enjoyments with all the glow of a heated imagination.* We must however acknowledge

"The kiss given by an infant to its mother equals in sweetness that which we shall imprint on the threshold of paradise."

* See a description of Lady Mary's visit to Fatima, in her letter written from Adrianople to the Countess of Mar. (V. ii. p. 168.) "I could not help thinking I had been sometime in Mahomet's paradise so much was I charmed with what I had seen."

See Lettres Persannes, lettre iii.—"Zachi à Usbek."

"J'errois d'appartemens en appartemens, te cherchant toujours, et ne te trouvant jamais; mais rencontrant par-tout un cruel souvenir de ma félicité passée. Tantôt je me voyois en ce lieu où, pour la premiere fois de ma vie, je te reçus dans mes bras; tantôt dans celui où tu décidas cette fameuse querelle entre tes femmes. Chacune de nous se prétendoit supérieure aux autres en beauté: nous nous présentâmes devant toi, après avoir épuisé tout ce que l'imagination peut fournir de parures et d'ornemens; tu vis avec plaisir les miracles de notre art; tu admiras jusqu'où nous avoit emportées l'ardeur de te plaire. Mais tu fis bientôt céder ces charmes empruntés à des graces plus naturelles; tu détruisis tout notre ouvrage: il fallut nous dépouiller de ces vêtemens, qui t'étoient devenus incommodes; il fallut paroître à ta vue dans la simplicité de la nature. Je comptai pour rien la pudeur; je ne pensai qu'à ma gloire. Heureux Usbek! que de charmes furent étalés à tes yeux! Nous te vîmes long-temps errer d'enchantemens en enchantemens; ton ame incertaine demeura long-temps sans se fixer; chaque grace nouvelle te demandoit un tribut: nous fûmes en un moment toutes couvertes de tes baisers: tu portas tes curieux regards dans les lieux les plus secrets; tu nous fis passer, en un instant, dans mille situations différentes; toujours de nouveaux consentemens, et une obéissance toujours nouvelle. Je te l'avoue, Usbek; une passion encore plus vive que l'ambition me fit souhaiter de te plaire. Je me vis insensiblement devenir la maîtresse de ton cœur: tu me pris, tu me quittas; tu revins à moi, et je ne te reconnus: le triomphe fut tout pour moi, et le désespoir pour mes rivales: il nous sembla que nous fussions seuls dans le monde; tout ce qui nous entouroit ne fut plus digne de nous

that its pleasures admit of degrees; or we must doubt the bold assertion of De Tott, that "Turkish women contribute but little to the pleasures of their possessor, whom the harem only inspires with disgust."* Mr. Eton asserts, that "the husband regards his wives only as the instruments of his pleasures, and seeks their society with no other view." But can the heart of the Turk be supposed to deviate so far from the usual course of human nature, as to be shut against the endearments of which marriage is the source? With whatever view, or under the influence of whatever passion, he may have formed his harem, the various affections must have their turn; the husband, the father, and the friend, must succeed to the lover, and from these social affections must spring, in due order, the high and noble passions, which Mr. Eton justly attributes to the influence of female society.

"The women," it is rashly asserted, "cannot be desirable companions to the man, because they have no cultivation of mind, and are stupid and solitary."† But the education of women of every rank is, at least, suitable to the manners of that particular state of society in which they move, and leaves them no inferiority with respect to their husbands. We do wrong to expect among

ouupes. Plût au ciel que mes rivales eussent eu le courage de rester témoins de toutes les marques d'amour que je reçus de toi! Si elles avoient bien vu mes transports, elles auroient senti la différence qu'il y a de mon amour au leur; elles auroient vu que, si elles pouvoient disputer avec moi de charmes, elles ne pouvoient pas disputer de sensibilité."

* See Manners, preliminary discourse, p. xxiii.

† See Survey of the Turkish empire, p. 242.

women of the lower classes much useful or ornamental knowledge; but though the fleeting images of daily occurrences alone occupy their reflection, yet their domestic and family concerns are discussed with no less interest by their husbands, than by themselves. "It must be confessed," says the Chevalier d'Ohsson, "that the way of life of the Mahometan women, estimable as it makes them in the eyes of their husbands, and dear to their families, deprives them, however, of the means of acquiring those qualifications, which heighten the personal and mental attractions. But notwithstanding the few advantages which they derive from education, nature abundantly compensates for the neglect. The Turkish women seem to inherit acuteness of discernment, and delicacy of taste and judgment. Their deportment and manners are graceful and amiable, their conversation chaste and unaffected. I have occasionally met with ladies of quality at the hotels of the ministers or magistrates, and I have admired the purity of their language, their easy elocution, the refinement of their thoughts, the nobleness of their style, and the grace which accompanied their words and actions."*

Persons and dress of the women.

The Turkish women are beautiful, though their beauty is of a different character from that of women in the northern climates of Europe. Their dress, when abroad, is little calculated to expose to advantage the elegant proportions of shape, which when young they possess, but from various circumstances in their manner of

* See Tableau Général, V. iv. p. 337.

living, do not so generally preserve as the women of the other parts of Europe.*

Restricted as the women are to a partial intercourse with people of either sex, it is not to be expected that the fashion of dress is subject to such continual variations as in the Christian part of

* De Tott seems to deny them beauty. He went unexpectedly into the apartment of Madame de Tott, when she was receiving a visit from some Turkish ladies. "The outcry was general; but only those who were old hurried themselves to cover their faces: however, I thought it great vanity in the young ones to make no more haste." "They are exposed in their hot baths to all the inconveniences of a forced perspiration, so frequently repeated as to destroy the freshness of the complexion and the grace of the features, even before they are marriageable." (P. 45, and preliminary discourse, p. 27.)

It has been the peculiar fate of the Turkish ladies to be described by writers, who were under the influence of prejudice or partiality. Lord Sandwich says, "We may venture to affirm" (and it is rather a bold assertion, as it is founded on the opinion of other people) "that a person, who had ever experienced an intrigue with a Turkish woman, would have no further taste for the ladies of any other country, whom they would find in every particular so much their inferiors. The cleanliness and sweetness of their bodies, their advantageous dress, which seems made purposely to inspire the warmest desires, the tenderness of their expressions, their words, and actions, which seem enough to declare the unfeigned sentiments of their hearts, their grace, air, and beauty, are sufficient to captivate the most unconquerable breast; *while their sincerity and unequalled constancy are capable of fixing their lover's affections.*" (p. 158.)

I prefer Lady M. W. Montagu's description of them to that of other travellers, as, however highly it may be coloured, it is *the only* one certainly drawn from life.—"They walked about with the same majestic grace which Milton describes our general mother with. There were many amongst them, as exactly proportioned as ever any goddess was drawn by the pencil of a Guido or a Titian, and most of their skins shamingly white, only adorned by their beautiful hair, divided into many tresses, hanging on their shoulders, braided either with pearl or ribbons, perfectly representing the figures of the graces. I was here convinced of the truth of a reflection I have often made, that, if it were the fashion to go naked, the face would be hardly observed." (V. ii. p. 94.)

Europe: and, as the taste of the country is less refined than with us, the women have not yet learned to substitute neatness for magnificence. Their dresses are made of the richest stuffs of India and Cachemire, which being too costly to be frequently changed, and incapable of being washed, continue in use for a much longer period than they can possibly preserve the freshness which delicacy requires. Another indispensable article of elegant dress in all seasons is fur: but an animal substance, which is in a state of continual decay, however it may display the riches of the wearer, is ill-calculated to convey an idea of delicacy.

Harems of Turkish gentlemen,

The harems of private gentlemen have been frequently visited by European physicians, and from none of their descriptions do they appear to be the scenes of vice and debauchery. Few men wish to avail themselves of the licence, which the law allows them, of increasing the number of their wives; and the slaves in general are not the mistresses of the husband, but the servants or companions of the wife. The right of the master or mistress is mildly exercised in Turkey, and slavery is perhaps the readiest road to honours and preferments: the European prejudices with respect to birth are unknown or disregarded, and the male or female slave is frequently incorporated with the family by marriage with the son or daughter of the master.

and grandees.

The harem in the palaces of the emperor and the great officers of state is guarded by eunuchs, black, and deformed, whether from nature, or the effect of the mutilation. Though I do not pretend to have obtained particular information as to the jurisdiction of

the interior of the Imperial harem, yet I may venture to assert, that these eunuchs, so formidably represented by Montesquieu, officiate only as guards of honour: they neither perform menial offices, nor are they employed about the persons of the ladies. Much less are they invested with command, or do they consider that they are especially appointed to watch over the virtue of the women.*

Imperial harem.

No part of the Turkish institutions or establishments has so strongly excited the curiosity of foreigners as the harem of the Seraglio, concerning which, as no foreigner can be admitted under any pretence whatever, no direct information can be obtained;† nor indeed information of any kind, except what may be learned by means of ladies, who, having themselves constituted part of the Imperial harem, have been afterwards married to the great officers of the court. D'Ohsson learned, and has communicated, some interesting particulars, which he expressly acknow-

* "It may be perceived in this relation, that the eunuchs were more under the command of the sultana than disposed to contradict her. These beings are in Turkey only an article of luxury, and scarcely met with, but in the Seraglio of the Grand Signor and those of the sultanas." (De Tott, V. i. p. 77.)

A passage in Lady M. W. Montagu's letters seems to contradict this opinion. But though the fact cannot be doubted, the inference to be drawn from it should be exactly the reverse. Speaking of Hafité Sultan, her Ladyship says, "She has no black eunuchs for her guard, her husband being obliged to respect her as a queen, and not to inquire at all into what is done in her apartments."

† "Quant au sérail, il est impossible d'y pénétrer: aucune Européenne, *aucune Ambassadrice* ne peut se flatter d'avoir réussi dans ses tentatives à cet égard." (Tab. Gén. V. iv. p. 328.)

ledges to have derived from this source:* Lady Mary Wortley Montagu conversed on the subject with the widow of Sultan Mustafa: *other writers have conjectured,* and in general have presented to their readers a gloomy and disgusting picture.

Lady Mary has been accused by almost every subsequent writer, (and with the greatest acrimony by those whose writings contrast the most strongly with her elegant compositions†) of having asserted the untruth, that she had been admitted into the harem of the Seraglio. I willingly take this opportunity of declaring, from my own knowledge of Turkey and its various inhabitants, that, as her Ladyship's letters excel all other descriptions in the graceful simplicity of their stile, so her account of the Turkish manners, in

* "Je dois les détails qui concernent les sultanes, les *cadinns*, et le *harem* impérial, aux filles esclaves du sérail. On sait que plusieurs d'entre elles peuvent obtenir leur liberté après quelques années de service; qu'alors elles quittent le palais impérial pour être données en mariage à des officiers de la cour, qui les recherchent toujours avec cet intérêt qu'inspire l'espoir de s'avancer par leur crédit et leurs sollicitations auprès des sultanes et des dames dont elles sont les créatures. C'est par ces officiers, et par les femmes Chrétiennes, qui ont la facilité de se ménager un accès libre auprès d'elles du moment qu'elles sont hors du sérail, que j'ai rectifié les idées fausses et erronées dont je me nourissois moi-même sur tout ce qui concerne les sultanes, les dames, et le harem du Grand Seigneur." (Tab. Gén. discours préliminaire, p. ix.)

† De Tott (preliminary discourse, p. xv.) questions the authenticity of Lady Mary's letters: he calls them "the pretended letters of Lady Montagu."—"They were entertaining," he says, (p. 161.) "and this was all the author desired, and the public is never severe on the errors by which it is amused." Even Mr. Eton presumes to accuse her Ladyship of an inattention to truth and accuracy. "I am sensible," he says, (preface, p. iv.) "that I may be accused of treating the Turks too severely, and particularly by those who admire Lady Wortley Montagu's elegant descriptions, and similar productions of a warm imagination."

that higher circle in which she surveyed them, is wonderfully correct. I might indeed challenge her detractors to point out any passage of her writings from Turkey, which could not satisfactorily be proved to be true; but I confine myself to the refutation of that censure which is connected with the present subject, the harem in the Imperial palace. "I have taken care," says her Ladyship, "to see as much of the Seraglio as is to be seen;" upon which the late editor of her letters observes in a note, that "it is evident Lady M. W. Montagu did not mean to assert, that she had seen the interior of the Seraglio at Constantinople. *She had certainly seen that at Adrianople*," he says, "in which circumstance the error has originated." I have, however, perused the letters with attention, and I do not find it insinuated in any passage of them, that she had seen the interior of either of the Imperial harems. It is true that she dined at Adrianople with the grand vizir's lady, and afterwards visited Fatima, the wife of the *kiahya-bey*, or minister of the interior. But it is evident, that neither of these ladies lived in the Seraglio: and indeed, in her last letter from Adrianople, she says, "The Seraglio does not *seem* a very magnificent palace: but the gardens are very large, plentifully supplied with water, and full of trees, *which is all I know of them, having never been in them.*" These expressions certainly imply, that she had not even seen all that was to be seen of this palace. At Constantinople Lady Mary went to see the Sultana Hafité, who had been compelled by an absolute order *to leave the Seraglio* fifteen years before her Ladyship's acquaintance with her. It was therefore from conversation with these ladies, and not from an actual

visit to the Seraglio, that she collected her information respecting certain customs of the Imperial harem.*

Dr. Pouqueville was introduced, by means of a German who was employed to keep in order the gardens of the Seraglio, into that part of the harem called the summer apartments, at the time when they were not occupied, as the ladies were removed to one of the emperor's country seats on the shore of the Bosphorus. "An event unheard of before," says Dr. Pouqueville in the pride of his heart, "that a traveller had penetrated into the interior of the Grand Signor's palace, and even into his harem."† But the Doctor is mistaken, for M. de la Motraye, more than a century ago, went even farther into the harem than he appears to have done.‡ Both of them describe, and no doubt with accuracy, the topography of the Seraglio, its buildings, and the apartments into which they were admitted. But Dr. Pouqueville had read the letters of Lady M. W. Montagu, and firmly believed, from his respect for her authority, that he should meet with walls incrusted with emeralds and sapphires, with parterres enamelled with variegated flowers, in

* See Works of the Right Honourable Lady M. W. Montagu, V. ii. pp. 188, 246.

† See Voyage en Morée, &c. V. ii. p. 238, note.

‡ See Voyages du Sieur de la Motraye, V. i. p. 220.

Dr. Pouqueville indeed supports his assertion with no better authority than that of his friend the German gardener, who himself had been but a few months in the Grand Signor's service.—"Notre introducteur nous assura que nous étions les seuls Européens qui y eussent jusqu'à ce jour pénétré." (Voyages, V. ii. p. 260.)

short with all the wonders of enchantment. The labours of his German friend corresponded, however, so little with his preconceived ideas, that the mere sight of the melancholy garden dissipated the illusion. "*I cursed the woman from my heart,*" says the ill-mannerly disciple of Esculapius. And why did he so? Why does he offend the ears of Majesty (for his travels are dedicated to the emperor Napoleon) with such coarse and ungentlemanly expressions; with language which writers in the happier days of French literature would have disowned, which Lewis the Fourteenth would have spurned? Truly, because our illustrious countrywoman, in her description of a lady's boudoir, does not exactly convey the idea of a garden in the sultan's palace.

The passage, which has provoked the anger of Dr. Pouqueville against Lady Mary, even to indecency, is the following, from her letter to the Countess of Mar. "What would you say, if I told you that I had been in a harem where the winter apartment was wainscoted with inlaid work of mother-of-pearl, ivory of different colours, and olive wood, exactly like the little boxes you have seen brought out of this country; and in whose rooms designed for summer the walls are all crusted with japan china, the roofs gilt, and the floors spread with the finest Persian carpets? yet there is nothing more true: such is the palace of my lovely friend, the fair Fatima, whom I was acquainted with at Adrianople."* Now I aver, from what I myself have frequently seen, that there is no exaggeration in this description. But Lady Mary's reputa-

* See Works of the Right Honourable Lady M. W. Montagu, V. ii. p. 234.

tion for veracity shall not depend on my assertion only: an acknowledgment of the consistency of her descriptions with truth might easily be extorted even from her detractors: D'Ohsson, however, with whom imagination is dormant, is alone sufficient to silence calumny, and to confirm the accuracy of her Ladyship's observations. "In the harems of the opulent," he says, "there is a great display of luxury and ornament: in each of them there are generally three or four chambers, the cielings and wainscotings of which are of olive or walnut-tree wood decorated with carved work, or the walls are incrusted with mother-of-pearl, ivory, or porcelain of China or Japan."*

* Tableau Général, V. iv. p. 175.

Dr. Dallaway, in describing the palace of Bey-han Sultan, says very justly, that "simplicity or science of ornament is not understood by them; for all that they attempt is brilliancy produced by a quantity of colours and gilding." (Constant. ancient and modern, p. 139.)—Motraye, in describing the apartments of the harem, where he accompanied a watch-maker, as his assistant, who was employed to regulate the clocks, says, that the eunuch who received them at the entrance of the harem, conducted them into a hall which appeared to be the chief and most agreeable apartment in the palace. "Cette salle est incrustée de porcelaines fines; et le lambris doré et azuré qui orne le fond d'une coupole qui régne audessus, est des plus riches, aussi bien que celui de tout le plafond. Une fontaine artificielle et jaillissante, dont le bassin est d'un précieux marbre verd qui m'a paru serpentin ou jaspe, s'élevoit directement au milieu, sous le dôme."—"Nous traversâmes diverses belles salles, et chambres, foulant aux pieds les riches tapis de Perse étendus presque par tout, et en assez grand nombre pour nous faire juger du reste. Je me trouvai la tête si pleine de sophas, de précieux plafonds, de meubles superbes, en un mot, d'une si grande confusion de matériaux magnifiques, mais irrégulièrement disposés, au moins selon notre goût, qu'il seroit difficile d'en donner une idée claire." (Voyages, V. i. pp. 220. 222.) Even Dr. Pouqueville confesses himself to have been agreeably surprized with the elegance and beauty of the *kiosk*, or pavillion of the grand signor: the richness of the gilding, the decorations, and the furniture were all deserving of admiration; and the prospect from it was delightful. So

Dr. Pouqueville, by the censure which he has thus unjustly cast on Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, seems to challenge a comparison between his own and her Ladyships observations on the Turkish harems. But they appear to have viewed similar objects under the influence of such different feelings, that scarcely any common features of resemblance can be discovered in their representations. On approaching the gate which opened to the winter apartments of the grand signor's ladies, the doctor's curiosity was strongly excited by the desire of discovering something of this retreat which none but the sultan and his black eunuchs are permitted to explore: it was then that an idea occurred to him with so much force, "that there are no dangers," he says, "to which he should not willingly have exposed himself, if he could have hoped by braving them to obtain a sight"—of what? Of the women no doubt; for a Frenchman, in such a situation, could have thought of nothing else. Alas! no. The doctor's wishes extended no farther than to obtain a sight of the mouldy remains of the library of the Eastern emperors. He was at length conducted to the apartment of the female slaves: the massy key of the iron gate through which he entered, and the grating noise of the door turning on its hinges, astonished him for a moment: the idea of a black eunuch armed with his dagger, and the hundred deaths which he would have inflicted, occurred indeed, but did not damp the doctor's ardour, for he recollected that all the eunuchs had followed the sultan to his

that from the concurring testimony of all the travellers who have written on the subject, it appears, that Lady Mary's description of Fatima's apartments might apply, and certainly without exaggeration, to the Imperial harem.

country palace. "I felt a lively emotion of sorrow," says Dr. Pouqueville, "when I reflected on the deplorable condition of these unfortunate girls; for I found, on calculating the dimensions of the apartment, that there was space sufficient for upwards of three hundred and fifty beds, and I thought of the mephitical exhalations with which the air of the chamber must be contaminated."* Was ever man before occupied with such thoughts in such a situation? *Caro Signor dottore, lascia le donne e studia la matematica.*†

Titles and degrees of precedency among the ladies.

It is known that the Grand Signor from an indeterminate number of female slaves, ‡ selects his favourites, who are distinguished by the title of *cadinn* and by some authors are limited to seven. The mother of a boy is called *hasseky*, unless the boy die, in which event she descends to her former rank. The *cadinns*, or wives, of a deceased or deposed sultan are all removed from the Imperial harem to the *Eski Serai*, a palace in the middle of the city built by Mahomet the Second; except the *validé sultan*, or dowager em-

* See Voyages en Morée, &c. V. ii. pp. 249, 251, 253.

† See Confessions de Jean-Jaques Rousseau, liv. vii.

‡ "Neither the Greeks, the Armenians, nor even the Jews, are, any more than the Turks, subjected to a natural slavery. The despotism of the sultan cannot seize the person of any young girl, whatever desires she may have excited in his breast. Though there may still be found among the Grecian women as beautiful forms as those which served as models to Praxiteles, no example of such an outrage is furnished by the Turkish annals." (De Tott, preliminary discourse, p. 28.) See Gibbon, Vol. 2. p. 240, note 81, for a most odious seizure of wives and virgins by the Roman emperor Maximin.

press, the mother of the reigning sultan, who has her liberty, a palace, and revenues to support a suitable establishment. But the *hassekies*, or those who have a son living, are treated with marked respect, as, in the natural order of events, they may become *validé*. The title of *sultan*, though from courtesy it may be given to the *hassekies*, is, strictly speaking, appropriated to the empress dowager, and the sons and daughters of the Imperial family.* All the other ladies of the Seraglio are comprehended under the general name of *odaliks*, or slaves of the household.

Domestics and guards of honour.

The *kislar aga* chief of the black eunuchs is one of the greatest personages of the empire.† Independently of his authority in the harem he has the superintendance of all the Imperial mosques, and is charged with the general administration of all the pious foundations which relate to them. The *hazné vekili*, or keeper of the privy purse, is next in rank to the *kislar aga* and succeeds to his post on a vacancy: the inferior black eunuchs are said to amount to about three or four hundred; and Olivier asserts, that they are "malicious and peevish, tormented by their impotence, cursing their nullity and endeavouring to thwart the female slaves entrust-

* The title of *sultan* precedes the name of a prince, as Sultan Selim, and follows that of a princess, as Aischè Sultan. In common discourse the word *sultan*, with a pronoun affixed, is applied to any person, as Sultanem, my Lord or Sir: but when used absolutely, it signifies only the emperor.

† The sultan in an official paper of the greatest solemnity calls the *kislar agasi* "the most illustrious of the officers who approach my august person, and worthy of the confidence of monarchs and of sovereigns." (Tab. Gén. V. iii. p. 308.)

ed to their charge."* It has been said by Lady M. W. Montagu, and repeated by subsequent writers, that the preference of the sultan is *always officially* communicated to the female slaves by the *kislar aga;* but I doubt the accuracy of her Ladyship's information, for, although some ceremony may be observed on the first admission of a lady to the honour of the Imperial bed, it is improbable that the sultan should use more deliberation than any of his subjects: like them he acts according to the impulse of the moment, and may occasionally express his sovereign will by throwing a handkerchief or by sending an eunuch as his emissary, and sometimes, like Homer's Jupiter, may be surprised into unpremeditated dalliance.†

The white eunuchs are employed without the harem, and have the charge of the gates of the Seraglio, but they neither approach the women, nor arrive at offices more honourable or lucrative

* Olivier's Travels, V. i. p. 28.

† Cantemir, though better acquainted with the Turkish customs than any other historian, and quoting, in general, only from good authorities, has rather too lightly adopted the popular errors respecting the secrets of the harem. "If the sultan loves any of the women more than the rest, *he can set the crown upon her head*, and she is thenceforward called *Hasseki Sultana*. The other concubines of the sultan cannot have access to him, unless they are sent for, but the Hasseki may go in to the sultan without being sent for." (p. 297, note 36.) "The sultan is forbidden, by the laws of the Seraglio, to lie with any of the women kept there *without his mother's consent*. Every day, during the feast of baïram, the Sultana mother presents a beautiful virgin, well educated, richly dressed, and adorned with precious stones, for her son's use. And, though the vizir and the other pashas send among other things, young virgins for presents to the emperor, he never touches any one of them, unless she is brought to

than the superintendance of the education of the pages. The chief of the white eunuchs is called *capu agasi*.

From the gloominess of the exterior, some authors have conjectured and lamented the misery of the beautiful prisoners, "condemned not only to long privations, to know of love only what is to excite in them desires; but even deprived of opening their hearts in the bosom of friendship." * For my own part I confess that I prefer the livelier picture drawn by Marmontel, and notwithstanding some inaccuracy in *costume*, I enjoy greater satisfaction in contemplating the grave and magnificent Soliman, *sipping tea* with his sprightly French mistress, than in surveying the sombre productions of equally fanciful pencils. † State of the women.

him by his mother. If the sultan has a mind to choose a concubine unknown to his mother, he may indeed do it without opposition; but he is considered as acting contrary to the rules of the Seraglio, and against his mother's honour." (p. 296. note 36.)

* See Olivier's Travels, V. i. p. 29.

† The marriage of Sultan Soliman with his slave "à nez retroussé," which is the subject of one of Marmontel's Contes moraux, has some real foundation in history; and the other incidents of the fable are justified by tradition. We learn from Busbequius, that Roxalana, having borne a son to the emperor, availed herself of the law which enfranchizes the mother of a mussulman, and refused her further favours to her lover, except on condition of his marrying her. The ceremony had gone into disuse, ever since the captive Sultan Bajazet had been insulted by the ignominious treatment of his wife in the camp of Timour (or Tamerlane.) Cantemir accounts for the title of *padishah* being given at the Porte to the king of France, though it is given to no other Christian prince, by the following story which he received from the Turks. "A grand-daughter of the king of France, having vowed a pilgrimage to Jarusalem, was taken near Cyprus by Turkish pirates

But though we cannot penetrate into the secrets of the Imperial palace, we may learn with accuracy from Lady Mary the state of the harems of other great personages of the empire. She visited the wives of the grand vizir and the minister of the interior, whose harems would undoubtedly be modelled upon the same plan as that of the Seraglio; but she heard no expression of discontent or dissatisfaction, no complaint of tyranny or restriction, no regret that the knowledge of love was imperfectly communicated to them. She afterwards visited Hafité, widow of Sultan Mustafa, remarried by order of the reigning emperor to Bekir Effendi, secretary of state. Lady Mary's description of the Sultana's establishment, of her dress, of her attendants, and the elegance of the entertainment, is such, as she herself apprehends will appear to have received many embellishments from her hand, and will look too like the Arabian tales: yet the Sultana herself was insensible to any pleasure, but the recollection of the Imperial harem. "She never mentioned the Sultan without tears in her eyes. My past happiness, said she, (and there was no affectation in these words) appears a dream to me; yet I cannot forget that I was beloved by the greatest and most lovely of mankind."

The *odaliks*, or ladies of the household are by no means condemned to a state of hopeless, or interminable, virginity. They

and presented to Soliman. On account of her birth and beauty she was placed among the most beloved concubines, and so powerfully attracted the sultan's affection by *her French airs* and *love verses*, that she had an absolute influence over him, and managed all affairs as she thought proper." (p. 206. note 77.)

are sought in marriage by the officers of state, by the governors of provinces, by the courtiers, and by all who are stimulated by ambition to aspire at preferment, or who seek security under the patronage of the cadinns and sultanas: for from the recesses of the harem, the ladies influence public affairs, nominate to places and favours, and avert or direct punishments.*

This assembly of beautiful women (for as such we may venture to describe it, since none but virgins of consummate beauty are esteemed worthy of being admitted into the Imperial harem,) is composed of slaves "as far fetched," says Rycaut, "as the Turk commands or the wandering Tartar makes his excursions;" and chiefly from Georgia and Circassia. Peyssonnel indeed asserts, that Circassians alone have the honour of sharing the Imperial bed, from which the Georgians are rigorously excluded, ever since a sultan, about a century ago, when "at length the morn and cold indifference came," fastidiously took offence at some unguarded expressions which fell from his Georgian mistress, and declared

* Dr. Pouqueville, from surveying an empty bed chamber, has ventured to assert that he had examined into all the details of the wretched life of the ladies of the Seraglio. He found a few rags in the corner of a closet, and he demonstrates from them, that there can be no magnificence in the dress of the odaliks.—The furniture had been removed to other apartments, and thence he concludes that their furniture must be mean, and *that their tables are ill-served.* He observed nothing remarkable in the flooring, the walls, or the ceiling, and thence proceeds to shew, that when the rooms are lighted up in an evening, a few scattered tapers of *yellow* wax, on high candlesticks, give a faint light, whose reflection only adds to the gloom of darkness. (See Voyage en Morée, &c. V. ii. p. 253). If this mode of reasoning be legitimate, there seems no possibility of preventing Dr. Pouqueville from drawing any conclusion from any premises.

with an oath, that no girl from that country should ever again be received into the bed of himself or his successors. But lovers perjuries are the jest of heaven, * and if venial under any circumstances, must be peculiarly so in the present instance; for Chardin, who travelled through the country, affirms that the Georgians are the handsomest race of people not only in the East, but even in the world: he never saw an ugly face in persons of either sex, but many, on the contrary, that were angelical. Nature has endowed the Georgian women with peculiar graces: they are tall and finely shaped; their features and complexion, their slender waists and graceful carriage, are indescribably beautiful. "I aver that it is impossible," says Chardin, "to see them without loving them." Nothing indeed can be more ridiculous than Peyssonnel's story, † and it may be dismissed among the numberless absurdities which are related concerning the ceremonies and usages of the Imperial harem; the custom of creeping in at the bed's foot, the intrigues and jealousies of the ladies, their mutual poisonings, stranglings,

* The exclamation of Mademoiselle de l'Enclos, "Ah, le beau billet qu'a De la Chartres!" gives, I am afraid, the just measure of the compunction which is usually felt upon such occasions.

† The Circassian girl, according to Peyssonnel, entailed upon her nation the privilege of keeping up the Ottoman race by the delicacy of her reply to the sultan's inquiries. He asked if it was almost day, and she answered, that "she perceived the approach of Aurora, for already the morning zephyr wantoned in her hair." But this pretty allusion to pagan mythology must have been unintelligible to the sultan. Besides I may affirm from my own experience, that during the summer season (when it is not unusual at Constantinople for persons to sleep, as the sultan appears to have done, with the windows open) the morning breeze does not begin till several hours after sunrise.

and drownings, the precedency established among them by the *kislar agasi*, their visits of ceremony, the incessant homage of their subordinate companions, and the *supine happiness*, which travellers, who have never spoken to a Turkish woman, affirm to be all that they are qualified to experience.*

The slave-market.

For the gratification of the faithful, a market of female slaves *avrat bazar* is established in the capital.† Formerly not only Mahometans, but even Jews and Christians might purchase women for domestic purposes or worldly pleasure: and Sandys says, that the custom, (being prohibited only by our religion,) was general among the Franks. The frail virtue of the Western Christians is, however, at the present day powerfully supported by the temporal authority of the civil magistrate, and the custom of lying alone, which was almost discarded in Sandys's time, is less rare among them than it appears to have been formerly.‡ All except Turks are now not only excluded from the slave-market, but are prohibited from retaining slaves.

The slave-market is a quadrangle, surrounded by a covered gallery, and ranges of small and separate apartments. It has been

* "On imprime tous les jours cent sottises semblables sur les coutumes des Orientaux, et pour un voyageur comme Chardin, que de voyageurs comme Paul Lucas." (Voltaire, Hist. de Charles xii, préface.)

† A Turkish ambassador at a foreign court was once asked how they made love in his country? We do not make love, he replied, we purchase it ready made.

‡ See Sandys's Travels, p. 85.

said, that the practices of the owners towards their slaves are repugnant to humanity and decency; but it is more reasonable to suppose, that, as avarice must be the predominant passion of the slave-merchant, he must consequently observe towards the girls a very opposite line of conduct, were it only from motives of self-interest. I once made a voyage in a Turkish vessel, in which a slave-merchant had also taken his passage with two females, and his treatment of them was such, that if I had been ignorant of his motive, I should have admired his humanity. At another time, in travelling by land, I passed a day in a khan on the borders of the Danube, in which a considerable number of female slaves were lodged, and I observed that they were waited upon by their owners with all the assiduity of domestics.

The manner of purchasing slaves is described in the plain and unaffected narrative of a German merchant, which, as I have been able to ascertain its general authenticity, may be relied upon as correct in this particular. He arrived at Kaffa, in the Crimea, which was formerly the principal mart of slaves, and hearing that an Armenian had a Georgian and two Circassian girls to dispose of, feigned an intention of purchasing them, in order to gratify his curiosity and to ascertain the mode of conducting such bargains. The girls were introduced to him one after another. A Circassian maiden, eighteen years old, was the first who presented herself: she was well dressed, and her face was covered with a veil. She advanced towards the German, bowed down and kissed his hand: by order of her master she walked backwards and forwards in the chamber to shew her shape and the easiness of her gait and carriage: her

foot was small, and her gesture agreeable. When she took off her veil, she displayed a bust of the most attractive beauty. She rubbed her cheeks with a wet napkin to prove that she had not used art to heighten her complexion, and she opened her inviting lips to shew a regular set of teeth of pearly whiteness. The German was permitted to feel her pulse that he might be convinced of the good state of her health and constitution. She was then ordered to retire while the merchants deliberated upon the bargain. The price of this beautiful girl was four thousand piastres.*

* 4,000 piastres were at that time equal to 4,500 florins of Vienna. See Voyage de Nicholas-Ernest Kleeman, fait dans les années 1768, 1769 and 1770. A Neufchatel, 1780, p. 141, 143.

Olivier examined the slave-market in virtue of a *firman*, or special order from the Porte. Dr. Pouqueville, in the eagerness of investigation, rushed in and was pushed out again by one of the guards. The short interval between the doctor's intrusion and his ejection was however sufficient, with the aid of an active imagination, to enable him to observe and to describe the building which surrounds the quadrangle, and the portico or gallery, under which the slaves are exposed for sale in wet weather, seated on a bench placed against the wall of their apartments. The women were divided into small parties or lots of fifteen each, seated on mats, cross-legged, in the middle of the quadrangle: their robes, which were made of a course white woollen cloth, announced their sad condition; but they seemed scarcely affected by it, for they were laughing and indulging in the most vehement loquacity. As the rays of the sun were beginning to dart upon the open part of the quadrangle, their keepers were driving them under the portico, where they still continued singing with great gayety. There were three or four hundred of them; but Dr. Pouqueville, though he remarked that some of them had flaxen hair and blue eyes, yet found none of them deserving the high reputation of the Georgians and Circassians: they were for the most part corpulent *women*, and their complection was of a dead white. The Turkish purchasers examined them merely to ascertain their qualities as animals, they selected the sleekest and best conditioned from the different groups, and besides handling them and examining their make and size, subjected their mouths, their

Public women.

Women who give themselves up to debauchery from mercenary motives, are sometimes treated with severity by the officers of police, and sometimes with cruelty by their jealous or satiated paramours.* "It will hardly be believed," says D'Ohsson, "that forty Mahometan women of this description are not to be found in all the city of Constantinople:" † nor indeed do I believe it, for I have met with a greater number in the course of a single day, nor is their conduct so reserved but that they may easily be distinguished from other women in the public streets by their gait and gesture. The Turkish police is severe without being exact. There are instances of so venial a crime being punished by tieing up the unfortunate woman in a sack and throwing her into the sea.‡

teeth, and whatever chiefly engages attention, to a critical scrutiny. The doctor was preparing to follow, if not to imitate, the purchasers; but the poignard, the oaths, and the menaces of the guard checked his curiosity, and, on being turned out, his steps conducted him *naturally to* pay his tribute of admiration to the mosque of Sancta Sophia! (See Voyage en Morée, &c. V. ii. p. 112.)

* I have frequently heard during my residence in Pera, of atrocities such as Lady M. W. Montagu mentions. (V. iii. p. 7.) "About two months ago, there was found at day break, not very far from my house, the bleeding body of a young woman naked, only wrapped in a coarse sheet, with two wounds of a knife, one in her side and another in her breast.—Very little inquiry was made about the murderer, and the corpse was privately buried without noise."

† Tableau Général, V. iv. p. 348.

‡ Busbequius, however, justly remarks, (Epist. iii. p. 123.) "Turcæ in occultis flagitia non valde inquirunt, ne locum aperiant calumniæ: manifestaria et comperta graviter puniunt."

The situation of the guardians of women in Turkey has justly been observed to be the most pitiable that can be imagined. Separated from themselves, exposed to all the force of the passions, surrounded with every object which can excite desire, and humbled and irritated with the unceasing reflection on their own insignificance. Montesquieu, indeed, heightens their distress by unveiling to them every charm, and insults their weakness by trusting to their hands, in the most minute detail, the office of preparing pleasures for the tyrant who has annihilated their own. It would indeed be a needless aggravation of their unhappiness to compel them to live with young and beautiful women, to banish the female servants from the harem, and to trust to their awkward hands the dressing and undressing, the bathing, the perfuming, and the adorning of every object of their master's affections. What a ridiculous picture is presented of the Imperial harem, if we allow ourselves to suppose the eunuchs, on the one hand, teazing the women in order to please their master, vexing them from malice and peevishness, and the sentiment of their own nullity,* and, on the other hand, the ladies racking their invention to revenge themselves on the eunuchs, disturbing their repose, and breaking their sleep, with trifling messages, and capricious orders, condemning them to the vilest and most degrading offices, and obliging them to perform a wearisome penance for their severity behind the door of their chamber; both parties mutually insulting, and mutually fearing each other: careful only to observe the strict line of duty, traced out for both, the least infringement

Eunuchs.

* See Olivier's Travels, V. i. p. 114.

of which subjects the one to corporal chastisement, and authorizes the other to inflict it, and punish disobedience by a *whipping*.* Common sense will not allow us to admit the existence of so childish an establishment; and it would be useless to exercise conjecture on the insipid relation of the eunuchs to the women: yet if the presence of women be so painful to them, how are we to account for the conduct of the *kislar aga*, who seemingly in mockery of our shallow reasoning, has chosen, as a relaxation from the fatigues of the Imperial harem, an establishment of the same nature for private and domestic amusement. I would not be thought guilty of the profaneness of prying into the mysteries of the nuptial chamber, or revealing, in unhallowed expressions, its pure and uncontaminated delights; but in relating the following anecdote of the *kislar aga*, I pay but a just tribute to that innate principle of virility which "smiles at the drawn dagger, and defies its point." A lady, in his harem, was indisposed *from excess of affection*, and a Tuscan gentleman, surgeon to the grand signor, was sent for and consulted on the occasion. On making his re-

* See Montesquieu's Lettres Persannes, lettres ii, ix, cxlviii, cliii, clvii. In the second letter is described the ordinary authority of the eunuchs: in the ninth letter the chief eunuch bewails the horrors, the inconveniences, the dangers, and the privileges, of his situation: here he complains of the whipping which he received at the instigation of one of the favourites. "Le jour que je fus fouetté si indignement autour du sérail, qu'avois-je fait?" In the 148th, and the 153rd letters he is invested by his master (a private gentleman) with extraordinary authority, and the power of life and death. But the most ludicrous exertion of his authority is in the 157th letter. "Zachi à Usbek."—"O ciel! un barbare m'a outragée jusques dans la manière de me punir! Il m'a infligé ce châtiment qui commence par alarmer la pudeur; ce châtiment qui met dans l'humiliation extrême; ce châtiment qui ramène, pour ainsi dire, à l'enfance."

port to the *kislar aga*, he repeated, like an experienced courtier, the endearing expressions which the lady had uttered: the eunuch was enraptured, and interrupted the relation, by exclaiming in his childish treble, *kouzoum, djyerim, djanem*, expressions equivalent to my life, my soul, my dear lambkin; and kissed the lady in imagination with all the rapture of real passion.

CHAPTER IX.

MOLDAVIA AND WALLACHIA.

System of Turkish government towards the tributary subjects.—Powers and immunities of the clergy.—Offices of emolument conferred on the rayahs.—Peculiar advantages of the Greeks.—Cause,—and consequences of this distinction.—Exceptions to the usual mode of Turkish government.—Dacia.—Geography of Moldavia and Wallachia:—their departments and dioceses:—seasons, air, and soil:—husbandry and natural productions:—appearance of the country.—Constitution and moral qualities of the inhabitants.—Civil distinctions.—Constitution and government.—Vaivoda or prince:—ceremony of inauguration;—court, officers of state, and body-guards.—Divan or council:—its departments.—Boyars or nobility.—Powers of the divan.—Classes and privileges of the boyars.—Turkish magistrates.—Officers civil and military.—Laws and police.—Revenue and taxes.—Capital cities.—Public establishments.—Manners of the Greeks and the boyars.—Deposed princes.—Foreign relations.

During the progressive aggrandizement of the Turkish power, the constant policy of government, in the conquered countries

which were incorporated with their empire, was to expel from their estates the nobles and great landed proprietors, and to make a new division of the lands according to the arrangements of their peculiar civil and military system. Under the equal pressure of this new despotism, every idea of nobility, and all traces of distinction were effaced from the memory of the inhabitants; and, after a very few generations, the posterity of the ancient families could no longer be recognized among the mass of conquered subjects. These were reduced to one common state of servitude: their talents were exerted only to procure them the necessary means of subsistence, and were confined to the labours of agriculture, the exercise of the mechanical arts, and the dealings of commerce. The abolition of civil or honourable distinctions, of all which was derived from former institutions, or which would tend to perpetuate the memory of past independence, was inevitable, since their existence was incompatible with the safety of the new government.*

System of Turkish government towards the tributary subjects.

The power of the clergy, great as was their authority over the

* "The families are so fallen from their former splendour, that they look more like husbandmen than nobles." Cantemir, p. 186. note.

"Hic mihi in mentem venit, quam levis et infirma res sit, quæ vulgo perhibetur, nobilitas. Nam cum de puellis quibusdam, quæ liberaliore erant forma, scire vellem, num quo essent genere, audiebam eas a summis ejus gentis satrapis originem ducere, aut etiam regium esse genus, jam bubulco aut opilioni desponsas. Sic in regno Turcarum jacet nobilitas. Vidi item postea aliis locis Cantacuzenorum et Palæologorum imperatorii generis reliquias, contemptius inter Turcas degentes quam vixit Dionysius Corinthi." (Busbequii Epist. i. p. 23.)

Powers and immunities of the clergy.

minds of their followers, odious as it must have appeared to zealots professing doctrines repugnant to theirs, excited, however, neither jealousy nor animosity. To a government whose system was to humble and debilitate, the influence of the clergy, detached as they were from the common concerns of life, and unconnected in a community of interests with their fellow subjects, presented a powerful engine of state, a passive instrument in the hands of oppression, which would serve to reconcile their disciples to patience under persecution, and submission to injury, and would secure the obedience of the conquered people. The Ottomans treated with the clergy in their corporate capacity as with a civil power, representative not merely of the sect, but of the nation, over which they had until then exerted only a spiritual authority. Their privileges were confirmed, and their powers augmented; they were invested with temporal authority, were appointed the political overseers of their flock, and were the only authorized and acknowledged organ of the people.*

* "Les Turcs traitèrent avec le patriarche Gennadius comme avec une puissance; ils l'admirent dans leur conseil, et en lui rendant sa dignité ils s'assurèrent de l'obéissance du peuple entier qu'ils venoient de conquérir." (Chevalier, Voyage de la Propontide et du Pont-Euxin, V. i. p. 117.)

"The influence of the Patriarch with the Porte is very extensive, as far as his own nation is concerned. His memorials are never denied, and he can, in fact, command the death, the exile, imprisonment for life, deposition from offices, or pecuniary fine of any Greek he may be inclined to punish with rigour, or who has treated his authority with contempt." (Dallaway, p. 101.)

The Armenian patriarch and the *khakham bashi*, or chief rabbin of the Jews, are in like manner the temporal and spiritual heads of their respective communities.

The pride or the indolence of the Turks, which made them disdain or rendered them averse from attending to the details of business, encouraged a mercenary emulation among the rayahs, to whom they confided the administration of several lucrative, though subaltern, departments. The rayahs thus became the bankers, the merchants, the contractors, the agents, of the Porte, of the pashas, and of the farmers of the different branches of the revenue.* Custom and precedent, which in Turkey soon acquire the force of law, have hence confirmed to the Jews the offices of collecting the custom dues, and purchasing whatever is required for the use of the Seraglio, and to the Armenians the direction of the mint; but these are the highest civil employments to which either of them can attain.

Offices of emolument conferred on the rayahs.

It has been supposed that the Turks, to console the Greek descendents of the Imperial family for the loss of empire, had bestowed on them the government of the two principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia; an error which appears to have no other foundation

Peculiar advantages of the Greeks.

* Si les Turcs, ou plutôt si les *codja-bachis* qui les représentent, n'opprimoient pas les Grecs de cette plage, Vostitza deviendroit la plus opulente ville de la Morée. Mais les Grecs ont leurs plus grands ennemis parmi eux. Ce sont ces *codja-bachis*, Grecs d'origine, prosternés aux pieds des Turcs, qui vexent avec plus de dureté ceux qu'ils devroient chérir et consoler. Par leur insolence, par leur fierté, et par la bassesse qui les caractérisent éminemment, ils ont établi une ligne de démarcation entre eux et la nation Grecque. Espèce dégénéreé, ils ont tous les vices des esclaves, et ne se dédommagent des humiliations que les Turcs leur prodiguent qu'en exerçant le monopole, la délation, et le brigandage le plus révoltant. Dans les temples ils occupent la place voisine de l'autel, ils y déploient l'orgueil du Pharisien, contens d'une triste prérogative achetée au prix du bonheur de leurs compatriotes." (Pouqueville, V. i. p 106.)

than the assumption of the illustrious name of Cantacuzenus by two persons of obscure family, born in Wallachia, who were raised to the administration of that principality in the seventeenth century.* It appears, on the contrary, that the first prince of Wallachia of Greek extraction, was Nicholas Mavrocordato, son of Alexander, the chief interpreter of the Ottoman court, who had been appointed minister plenipotentiary of the Porte at the congress of Carlovitz, in 1699, with the title of *bey* and *mahremi esrar*, or he to whom secrets are revealed: † since that period the Greeks, by their superior talent for intrigue, and perhaps their greater genius for managing state affairs, have retained among themselves the succession to both principalities, which may now be considered in some degree as a national inheritance. To the Greeks, a one among the rayahs, is reserved the nomination to posts of honour, if honour in their situation be not inconsistent with public employment.

If an inquiry be made into the origin of this distinction between the privileges conferred on the Greeks and the other tributary subjects of the Grand Signor, it will tend perhaps to diminish, or to tarnish in our eyes, the little specious honour which the Greeks may derive from it. The office of dragoman of the Porte, or court-interpreter, was held originally by renegadoes, or apostate Christians, as we find that Ibrahim, by birth a Pole, was interpreter during the embassy of Busbequius; and Spon mentions another

* See Cantemir's Ottoman history, p. 371, note.

† See Osservazioni storiche, naturali e politiche intorno la Valachia e Moldavia, p. 21.

whose Polish name was Albertus Bobovius, who communicated to Rycaut the materials from which he composed his state of the Ottoman Empire. But during the siege of Candia, the Greek physician of the grand vizir Kioprili so endeared himself to the Turks by his important services, that he was appointed dragoman of the Porte.

The Ottoman troops, tired and spiritless, reduced almost to despair by the length of the siege and the new obstacles which the garrison continually opposed to them, began to murmur that the strength of the nation should be wasted against an impregnable city. The vizir, though urged by the positive threats of the sultan on the one hand, was thwarted by the discontent of the soldiery, and could with difficulty restrain them from open sedition. In this dilemma, his distress was increased almost to despair by the intelligence, that the French were coming to the relief of Candia with a fleet and army. The artifices of Panayot, his physician, not only delivered the vizir from his embarrassed situation, but induced the Venetian commander to surrender the city. "I have projected," says the artful Greek, "to invite Morosini the governor to a private parley, and to admonish him as a friend not to trust to the French fleet, because their designs are worse than than those of the Turks. I shall easily gain credit as well by my known profession of the Christian religion, as by my feigned zeal for the welfare of Christendom, and hope to inspire him with the purpose of surrendering the city." The success of his project established the credit of Panayot in the Turkish court, "which was so great," says Cantemir "that no Christian before him ever

did, and none, it is believed, ever will, enjoy the like." At his death, which happened during the expedition against Kaminiec, he requested and obtained that his body should be sent for burial to Constantinople, an honour usually granted to the sultans alone. His death was lamented, and his services were publicly acknowledged, by the vizir; and his merit is imputed to his nation and successors.*

Alexander Mavrocordato succeeded, by similar arts, to the same honours as Panayot. By his influence he promoted, first to the principality of Moldavia and afterwards to that of Wallachia, his son Nicholas, who in the true spirit of an enfranchized slave, merited by his tyranny and the vexations of his government a comparison with Nero.

and consequences of this distinction.

The post of court-interpreter and the appointment to the two principalities excited the ambition of the Greeks; and many forsook the routes of vulgar industry, and sent their children to study physic and foreign languages in the universities of Italy. The flame spread, and a spirit of intrigue was communicated to the Greeks: those who were possessed of wealth and talents assisted their claim to precedency by forged genealogies, and prepared their way to power by fraud or violence, unrestrained by the common precepts or principles of morality. † The offices in the different

* See Cantemir's Ottoman history, p. 258, note.

† Gika, prince of Wallachia was deprived of his dignity by the indirect practices

departments of government were insufficient to employ, and inadequate to satisfy, the crowd of claimants who presented themselves. The foiled competitors, who obtained at least by their defeat the means of undermining their absent rivals, alternately protruded each other from power; the ministers of the Porte encouraged the ambitious pretensions of all parties, and multiplied their own emoluments by a rapid mutation of offices. The Turkish government, impartial in its choice, measured merit only by the golden standard, and reconciled its implied promises of support with its wishes to advance a rival, by the interposition of the knife or the bowstring, the gibbet or poison. Hence arose a Greek nobility and gentry, attached to the distinguished houses by interest or consanguinity, and continually occupied in plots and cabals. These men have forsaken their workshops and warehouses, and pass their lives in aspiring after, or in abusing, authority; or in wasting in tremulous luxury and ostentation the fruits of rapine and extortion.

Exceptions to the usual mode of Turkish government.

The order of government, which the Turks substituted in the place of the abolished institutions throughout their new conquests, has been already explained. Their system, which appears to have been adopted because the chief wants of the state were thereby provided for without any diminution of the public trea-

of his son Gregory, who resided at Constantinople as his father's *capu kiahyà*, or agent at the Ottoman Porte. "He told the vizir, that his father was old and sometimes had not the use of his senses; by which means he got him turned out, and was appointed prince of Wallachia in his room." (See Cantemir's Ottoman history, p. 278. note.)

sure, and with great satisfaction to the military themselves, was however deviated from in some few instances, and chiefly in the constitution of government established in the tributary provinces of Egypt, Wallachia, and Moldavia. Selim rather capitulated with the Mamelukes than conquered them: he left the internal government of Egypt to the *beys*, and endeavoured to balance their power by the authority of the *pasha*, his vicegerent. Wallachia submitted to the force of the Ottoman arms in the year 1418. Moldavia surrendered its liberties to Soliman the First, in 1529. But before describing the government and present state of a country which is now become of the highest importance in the politics of Europe, it will be necessary to take a rapid survey of its past history, to point out its geographical position, and to describe the nature and quality of the soil, climate, and inhabitants.

Dacia.

Dacia was annexed to the Roman empire in the reign of Trajan, after an obstinate contention during five years with the fierceness and strength of the Barbarians, and the unconquerable patriotism of their king Decebalus. The labours of this warfare are still recorded on the column which Trajan erected in his forum at Rome, as a monument of his Dacian victories.

The province of Dacia comprehended the countries situated beyond the Danube, and distinguished in modern geography by the names of Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, and the Bannat of Temeswar. In the year 270 the emperor Aurelian relinquished the sovereignty of the Transdanubian provinces, and withdrew the

Roman troops and colonists to his new province of hither Dacia. Such of the inhabitants as chose to remain became incorporated with the Goths, and served as the medium of intercourse between their brethren on the other side of the river, and these new settlers. The policy of Aurelian was justified by the event, and the extensive province, which the Romans had been unable to defend, opposed during a long period a firm barrier, after it became independent, against the incursions of the savages of the North.

Dacia continued in the possession of the Barbarians, who alternately yielded to, or incorporated with, successive hordes of more powerful invaders. During the declining state of the Roman empire, the inhabitants of Dacia subsisted in peace or war, by pasturage and pillage. They issued out occasionally from their woody retreats, crossed the Danube in their light boats made out of a single tree, and marked their inroads into Bulgaria and Thrace with blood and ruin, even to the suburbs of Constantinople.

When the dominions of the Gothic king were invaded by the Huns, whom, from their greater fierceness, the Goths themselves denominated Barbarians, the Visigoths under Athanaric occupied in their retreat the country which lies between the mountains, the Pruth and the Danube; and were preparing to defend it by the construction of strong lines: but the dismayed Goths, distrusting their own valour and their means of resistance, implored the protection of the emperor Valens, and obtained permission to cross the Danube: they were received as guests and settlers in the Ro-

man empire, which they afterwards so powerfully contributed to subvert.

The treaty of peace which Attila, king of the Huns, dictated to the Romans, confirmed his sovereignty over those countries, and stipulated that, for the convenience of his Dacian subjects, a safe and plentiful market should be established on the Southern bank of the Danube. After the death of Attila and the extinction of his empire, Dacia became the seat of a new but transitory power, erected under Ardaric, king of the Gepidæ. Batou, grandson of Jenghiz Khan, although he carried his arms into these provinces, appears not to have disturbed the general government, which was that of petty princes under the protection of the kings of Hungary.

In the reign of Ladislaus the First, Radulus, or Radulphus, surnamed the Swarthy, erected into a principality the country situated between the Siret and the Alt, which is now called Wallachia Proper. The bannat of Crajova, or Lower Wallachia, continued dependent on the kings of Hungary, and was given to the knights of Jerusalem, who, under the title of *bans* or vice-roys, governed the country, and afforded protection to pilgrims passing from Germany to the Holy Land. Bogdan, or Theodosius, assumed the government of Moldavia. Both principalities were originally held as fiefs of the kingdom of Hungary; but when afterwards they had increased in strength, and had formed alliances with the kings of Poland, they assumed independency.

According to Cantemir, Stephen, prince of Moldavia, alarmed at the conquests of the Turks over the Hungarians, the Tartars, and the Wallachians, and fearing to rely either on the Poles or the Germans, advised with his last breath the surrender of his country to the Ottoman power in the name of a fief, if the inhabitants could obtain peace on honourable terms, together with the preservation of their civil and ecclesiastical laws. Soliman accepted their homage; for the Turks aimed at nothing more than to subject an enemy to the payment of a small sum of money under whatever name, which, having once obtained, they soon found means of reducing to a real tribute. He left them the privilege of electing their own governors on every vacancy, subject to the approbation of the Porte, a privilege which both principalities appear to have enjoyed and abused, until the beginning of the eighteenth century. Since that period the boyars are no longer consulted in the choice of their governors, and the scene of intrigue is transferred from Yassy and Bukarest to the Porte, and the Fanal of Constantinople.*

Temeswar and Transylvania are now annexed to the dominions

* See Cantemir's Ottoman history, p. 202. note.

Demetrius Cantemir himself, on the death of his father Constantine, in 1693, was chosen his successor by the unanimous voice of the Moldavian *boyars*, but the election was not at that time confirmed by the Porte. On the rebellion of Cantemir and his flight into Russia, the Porte withdrew the privilege, and has continued, since that time, to appoint the princes both to Moldavia and Wallachia without consulting the *boyars*. "They formerly contended for their privileges," says Cantemir, "but now the tyranny of the Turks forces them to submit not only their timber, but their heads, to the axe."

Geography of Moldavia and Wallachia.

of the house of Austria; and Moldavia and Wallachia to those of the Porte. These two principalities, (which lie between 43°. 40′. and 48°. 50′. North latitude, and 23°. and 29°. 30′. East longitude,) are divided from Poland by the Dniester, and the small tract of country called Buckovina, which has been ceded to the house of Austria. The Carpathian mountains separate them from Transylvania and the Bannat, the Danube from Bulgaria, and the Pruth from the desert of Bessarabia. The course of the Siret, which descends from the Carpathians and falls into the Danube between Ibraïl and Galatz, fixes the respective boundaries of the principalities.

The inhabitants distinguish that part of ancient Dacia which is tributary to the Ottoman Porte by the name of *Zara Rumanesca*, or the Roman empire. The Turkish name is *Iflak*, a corrupt pronunciation of Wallachia, though Moldavia is frequently called *Bogdan*, a word derived, according to D'Herbelot, from the Sclavonian name of the Christian princes of Mœsia. By way of distinction, Moldavia is also called *Cara Iflak*, and Wallachia *Ak Iflak*.*

* The Turkish name of Moldavia has given rise to a mistake which originated with Leunclavius, (who appears to have been but imperfectly acquainted with the Turkish language) and which has been propagated by succeeding travellers from that undue deference, which, in many instances, I have observed is shewn to authors whose works are written in Latin. "Moldavia," he says, "is called by the Turks Carabogdania, which signifies *the land of black wheat*, because the country abounds with wheat that is black." I am so little versed in agricultural affairs as to be ignorant even of the existence of *black* wheat; but I may venture to affirm, that the name of *Cara Bogdan*

Both provinces are intersected by the numberless torrents which have their sources in the Carpathian mountains, and augment the stream of the Danube. Their fountains determine the natural limits between Austrian and Turkish Dacia: those which flow to the South belonging to Wallachia, and the Northern streams to Transylvania.

From the snowy summit of the Carpathian ridge the mountain, covered with lofty woods, gradually declines, and extends its skirts

by no means warrants the assertion that *black wheat* abounds in Moldavia. To enquire into the reason of the term *black* being applied to this division of the country would be an useless labour; and I have indeed pointed out Leunclavius's error, chiefly because it gives me an opportunity of introducing an observation, which seems to suggest matter of inquiry as to the earlier history of the Turkish nation. *Bogdan*, the name of a man, signifies, in the Sclavonic language, "the gift of God," and is synonimous with the Greek *Theodosius*, or the Italian *Diodati*. But the Turkish name for wheat is *bogday*, which equally implies "the gift of God;" and as it is not derived from words radically Turkish, it supports the conjecture, that the knowledge of this useful grain was communicated to the Turks by the Sclavonic nations who inhabited the country on the North of the Caucasus, whither the Turks, at a very remote period, appear to have retired, and to have lived so secluded from intercourse with other people, as either to have forgotten the use of bread and the very name of wheat, or at least to have been so long deprived of it, that, on its being restored to them, they adopted for it a new name, not expressive of its qualities, but of their own gratitude. It has also occurred to me, (though I found no hypothesis on what is perhaps only an accidental resemblance,) that the Tuscan word *augur* bears great affinity to the Turkish *oughour*, "auspicious, of good omen:" and I think it not improbable that the Turks (whose general manners, and situation relatively to Persia, I figure to myself as resembling those described by Voltaire in his tragedy of the Scythians) cultivated augury and divination, like the Druids, the Epirots, and other people inhabiting deep and romantic forests.

over the country, forming the sublimest and most romantic scenery, terminating in hills covered with vineyards, and opening into bays and vallies of the greatest fertility and beauty. Great part of the remaining space of country towards the Danube is a level and marshy plain.

The southern frontier of Moldavia is comprized between the mouths of the Siret and the Pruth, and possesses the advantage of a port accessible to merchant ships of the greatest burthen.

Both provinces abound in rich pastures and extensive forests, and are watered with innumerable streams and rivers; many of which are, or might be made, navigable.

their departments and dioceses:

The political division of Wallachia is into seventeen circles, and that of Moldavia into twenty. The hierarchal division of Wallachia is into three dioceses, over which the metropolitan or archbishop of Bukarest, and two bishops, exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Moldavia has an archbishop and three bishops. The convents and churches are oppressively numerous: they almost cover the face of the country, and every where occupy the best situations.

seasons, air, and soil:

The winter is long and extraordinarily severe, particularly in Moldavia, which is exposed to the first fury of the north-east wind, rendered more keen by its passage over an immense and snowy tract of level and open country. The water in the deepest wells

has sometimes been known to freeze, and the Danube to be covered with ice of prodigious thickness. The spring begins in April. In June the south-west wind occasions periodical returns of rain, thunder and lightning, at nearly the same hour, for a short continuance. In this month the south wind, by increasing the melting of the snow on the mountains, sometimes occasions inundations. In July and August the heats are excessive, but the nights are cold. The rainy season returns in September, and the most delightful and temperate weather succeeds, and continues to the middle of November. About this time the north-east wind first announces the winter, and sometimes introduces it by a heavy fall of snow.

The city of Bukarest was almost destroyed by an earthquake in the year 1802, but such calamities are rarely felt in either principality. The air in general is pure and wholesome, and the soil is proper for the production of every species of grain and pulse.* The cultivation of the vine is general on the slopes of hills which afford a suitable exposition. The wine, though made without art, is pleasant and wholesome. It is exported in great quantities to husbandry and natural productions:

* They commonly plough with six oxen and make a very deep furrow. They never employ manure; but after a crop of corn leave the land fallow for a season, and then sow it, either with wheat, or barley, or Indian corn. In virgin land, of which from the neglect of culture there is much in both provinces, they plant cabbages the first year, which grow to a prodigious size, or cucumbers which succeed equally well. By these means they extract and temper the salts with which such lands abound, and besides destroy the weeds and herbs, whose growth is checked by the spreading leaves of both plants which prevent their coming to seed. (See Osservazioni, &c. p. 55.)

Russia and Transylvania. Its strength and spirit are increased by a process, common among the rich proprietors, and practised also in Russia. At the first approach of a severe cold the wine butts are exposed to the severity of the weather in the open air: in a few nights, the body of wine is encircled with a thick crust of ice: this is perforated by means of a hot iron, and the wine, thus deprived of its aqueous parts, is drawn off clear, strong, and capable of being preserved for a long time. The wines somewhat resemble the light Provence wine, called *cassis*, they may be drunk even to ebriety without injury to the general health. The wheat in both principalities is excellent: its quality is between the hard red wheat and the white and mealy. The season of harvest is in the month of June. Barley is the common food of horses, as well in Wallachia and Moldavia, as throughout the Turkish dominions. Oats and rye are rarely sown. Indian corn is much cultivated because of its nutritious quality and abundant produce: it also requires less labour, and being sown in the spring is less exposed to accident and less liable to disappoint the hopes of the farmer. The mountains and the plains are covered or diversified with woods and forests of the most useful trees. The oak is frequently seen of two or three feet in diameter, and furnishes timber solid and compact: the pines and firs are common on the mountains. There are besides beeches, maples, elms, and ashes of different kinds, limes, poplars, walnut and white mulberry-trees, of which last kind there are many plantations for the purpose of feeding silk worms. The woods formed of these majestic trees are peopled with innumerable races of singing birds. The note of the nightingale is sweeter and

more frequent in the forests of Wallachia than in any other part of Europe, and its melody heightens the charm which is experienced in travelling through that country in the beautiful evenings of the summer season. The fruit trees which are the most common, are the apple, one of which appears natural to the climate; it bears, without culture, a fruit called *domniasca*, which is perhaps the finest in Europe, both for size, odour, and flavour: the pear, the plum, the cherry, the peach, the service, the walnut, and the hazel nut, come to great perfection with little culture. The climate is however unfavourable to the growth both of the olive and the fig-tree. The wood strawberry is every where to be met with, and the air is perfumed with wild flowers and aromatic herbs. Asparagus is the natural produce of the soil, the mushrooms are plentiful and of excellent quality; the cucumbers, the melons, and water-melons form a chief article of food to the common people; the cabbage spreads to an enormous size, and the Jerusalem artichoke, *yer elmasi*, thrives and is propagated with little labour or attention. The chief source of wealth in both principalities is, however, their abundant and nutritive pasturages. The sheep and goats in Wallachia are estimated at four millions: these are driven, at different seasons of the year, from the banks of the Danube to the summit of the Carpathian mountains: the flesh is excellent, and the annual exportation of wool into Germany amounts to several thousand bales. The oxen, and principally those of Moldavia, are large and fleshy: a great number are sold into Silesia and other foreign countries. The buffalo thrives in Wallachia, though it must be carefully tended, as it suffers equally from the excessive heat of summer and the cold of winter. This animal is of the highest

utility as well from its prodigious strength, as from the abundance and nutritious quality of its milk. There are various breeds of horses: the best races, which are those of Moldavia, are bought up in great numbers for the service of the Austrian and Prussian cavalry: they are well shaped, are remarkable for the soundness of their hoofs, and possess both spirit and docility. The carriage and draft horses are small but active, and capable of resisting fatigue. They live in the open air in all seasons, and in the winter when the ground is covered with snow, are frequently attacked by the wolves, who come in great numbers, and when pressed by hunger are frequently destructive, not only to the herds and flocks, but to the traveller and the inhabitant.* Domestic fowls, and game of all kinds are in great plenty: Water birds are numerous on the lakes and the Danube, which also abound with various kinds of fish. Deer and wild goats are frequent on the mountains, and the hares are in such numbers in the plains, that the peasants in Wallachia and Moldavia are said to hunt down upwards of half a million with their dogs, when the fall of snow through the winter is considerable. The honey and wax are of the finest quality: the climate and country seem indeed peculiarly favourable to the noble insect which produces them. The mineral productions are natural tar, salt, and nitre: the prince of Moldavia is obliged to send every

* In the studs there is generally a stallion to ten mares who serves them as guardian and conductor. When a stud is attacked by the wolves, the stallions assemble, and collect together the mares and foals by their loud and repeated neighings: the mares form a circle round the foals, with their heads turned towards the centre: the stallions arrange themselves on different points, and repel the wolves with their heels if they are bold enough to attack them, and generally defend themselves so vigorously that the wolves are forced to retreat. (See Osservazioni, &c. p. 79.)

year to Constantinople a contribution of twenty thousand *okes*, or twenty five tons, of nitre. The riches contained in the bowels of the earth and the vast range of the Carpathian mountains are however unexplored, though there are several indications of their containing metallic substances.

appearance of the country.

The attention of the traveller is wholly absorbed in contemplating the beauty of the varying landscape, and the fertility of the soil, which is improved by a rich, though inadequate, cultivation. De Tott compares Moldavia to the province of Burgundy. I have traversed both principalities in every direction, and retrace with the greatest pleasure the impressions left on my memory by their grand and romantic scenery; the torrents rushing down the precipices and winding through the vallies, the delightful fragrance of the lime flower and the herbs crushed by the browzing flock, the solitary hut of the shepherd on the brow of the mountain, the mountain itself rising far above the clouds, covered over its whole surface, except in the snowy regions, with a deep bed of vegetable earth, and every where adorned with lofty and majestic forest trees, or with rich and lively verdure.

The locusts, the curse to which countries are most exposed where nature has been most prodigal of her gifts, sometimes infest and spread desolation over this beautiful country. They even pass the lofty ridge of the Carpathian mountains, and light upon Transylvania, where a provident government has even called out its regiments to disperse and destroy them with the report of cannon, and the smoke of gunpowder.

Constitution and moral qualities of the inhabitants.

The Dacians were the most warlike of men. I treasure up such facts, because they serve to strengthen the conviction which I have received from surveying the manners of many people, that of all the evils which can possibly befal a state, the worst is subjection to a foreign power. The modern inhabitants, instead of the rude and hardy virtues which distinguished their barbarian ancestors, instead of the dignified manliness which constituted the Roman character, retain only a stubbornness in refusing what they know will be wrested from them, an obstinacy in withholding what they dare not defend: they seem to think it folly to yield until they have been beaten, though they do not even dream of making resistance.*

* Virgil, Æn. l. viii. v. 728. calls them the unconquered Dacians, and seems to compare their onset with the impetuous course of a rapid river.

Indomitique Dacæ, et pontem indignatus Araxes.

Tacitus, Germania, c. 1. says they were separated from the warlike Germans by a mutual dread of invading each other:—nor did they entirely lose their character for bravery until they fell under the unheard-of ignominy of being tyrannized over by a foreign slave. Cantemir (pp. 125. 188. 325.) and Montalbanus (ap. Elzevir. p. [illegible]) speak of them as free-booters and pirates, both by land and sea; and as uniting their forces, under the command of their own princes, with those of the Turks in their military expeditions. Marsigli (V. i. p. 101.) says that each principality was bound to furnish a corps of cavalry, though he was told by the Turks themselves, that they considered them to be useful only in relieving their own troops from unpleasant services. "Quos, velut ad hebetandas hostium vires et furorem, in prælia primos impellunt—vile istorum damnum reputantibus Turcis." (Montalbanus, p. 21.) And yet they must have been of great utility, as irregular cavalry, in Turkish warfare. "Tartarorum more incedunt, ac præliantur, vacuos binos aut tres equos singuli trahentes, quos uno alterove fesso mutuant; in excursionibus id circo veloces famam adventu ipso prævenientes. Tartarorum item ex consuetudine armantur.—Feroces, adversusque omnia sæva firmati sunt: pace infidi, bello non spernendi."

The peasants call themselves *Rumun*, or Roman, a term of reproach, which distinguishes them from the *boyars* or nobles. Their language is a corruption of the latin, somewhat resembling the Italian, but considerably more debased by barbarian mixture.

The appearance of the modern inhabitants in their summer dress is precisely such as that of the ancients, as represented on Trajan's column. A savage figure dressed in a shirt of coarse linen girt round the waist, and a pair of long drawers; a hatchet hanging at the girdle, a sheep skin thrown over the left shoulder and fastened on the breast, and sandals of undressed leather on the feet. Their exterior contrasts extraordinarily with their pusillanimity; for they are humbled by slavery, even into the belief that they are weak. The few Turks who travel through their country, the Greeks who pillage rather than govern it, the Germans and Russians who generally occupy it at the first opening of the campaign, all employ the same coercive measures. An Austrian corporal distributes blows, before he condescends to explain in what manner he must be obeyed. The necessary consequence of such mode of proceeding is, that the traveller in these countries can seldom procure for himself any convenience or accommodation beyond the common necessaries, and these he must frequently think a luxury. Every one flies at his approach, if he be attended by the officers of the prince, and if no one remains to be beaten, he can with difficulty obtain the common comforts of fire and straw, to dress his food or to make his bed. De Tott describes such treatment as necessary, and indeed few people in authority have recourse to any other. I however hazarded an experiment. I travelled with a French

gentleman from Constantinople to Vienna. On leaving Bukarest the prince had insisted on our taking an escort of three soldiers of his body guard, and our arrival in the villages on the road consequently spread the usual alarm, and excited the usual distrust; but nothing was more easy than to re-establish confidence, a few paras given to the children, or if none were there, a few paras to the peasant with orders to buy without limitation a small quantity of the best wine in the village, and a little present on his return, as it convinced the villagers that we meant to extort nothing, procured us abundance. I never experienced more ready service, and though the extraordinary expense was too trifling to be noticed, we never left a house without being attended by the whole family, and sometimes by all the men in the village, who voluntarily supported our carriage across the rugged or quaggy passages at the entrance of it.

The predominant religion in both principalities is that of the Greek church. The inhabitants are indeed attached to its rites and ceremonies, and tremble at its denunciations; but it does not appear, perhaps because their priests tyrannize over them no less than their temporal superiors, that they feel for their religion the same ardour of affection which I have observed among the Greeks in Turkey. Religion, indeed, when administered, not by an equal or a fellow sufferer but by a master, has not the mild and beneficent character which endears it to its votaries. The ringing of bells, or beating with two wooden hammers on a long piece of wood suspended in the belfries, is the most troublesome expression of their devotion. On the morning of a great holiday the clatter is

inconceivable in the city of Bukarest, where indeed there are more churches and convents than would suffice for all the parishes in both principalities. The chief amusement of the people on their holidays is dancing: the Wallach dance is an expression of languor: the air is simple and monotonous, and the gesture a careless voluptuousness: the dancing couple hold each other by the hands, which they lift above their heads, the step is a motion alternately backwards and forwards, corresponding with the expression of compliance and refusal, repeated, without variation, through a courtship of three quarters of an hour.* The basis of their food is a thick pottage, made with the meal of Indian corn, which they call *mamalika*, a wholesome and nutritious diet.

The inhabitants of the mountains are afflicted with the same glandular accretion as is observed in the Alps: its appearance is disgusting, and is so far from being considered as a beauty by the natives, that the dress of the women is purposely calculated to conceal the neck and the throat. In its excess it produces the effect of absorbing all that is human, as well in the mind, as the body, of the wretches who are afflicted with it: they are perfect idiots. I remember the uneasy sensation which I experienced, when after a long and fatiguing journey we reached our resting place in a village among the mountains. The inhabitants of a dark cottage were dislodged to make room for us, and I had ordered the chamber which we were to occupy to be cleared and swept, but on approaching the fire I observed a person sitting among the embers,

* See Voyage à Constantinople, p. 117.

on the hearth. I was peevish, if not angry with the peasant, who immediately drew from the chimney corner by the nape of the neck—a naked mummy, for so it appeared to me: the body wasted to supply the enormous excrescence on the neck, the spindle shanks shrunk up, the long arms hanging down the sides, and shewing no sign of life except a vacant and frightful stare. I confess I felt horror. I was stung with remorse at depriving the poor creature of the only comforts which it seemed capable of enjoying; but my humanity yielded to stronger and more selfish feelings, and I could not resolve to eat and to sleep in such company.

In the plains the natives seldom attain to the age of seventy years, they are even old at sixty; but this is owing to other causes than the climate, for chronical diseases are unknown, and bilious and intermittent fevers, though frequent, are seldom fatal.

Civil distinctions.

The number of inhabitants in both principalities is calculated to amount to a million of souls; a population very inadequate to a territory of such extent, so fertile, and so rich in the variety of its productions. If the inhabitants enjoyed the blessings of regular government, if their industry was unshackled, and the fruits of their labour were secured to them, their numbers would speedily and necessarily increase from the great facility of obtaining a comfortable subsistence. They possess the unalienable riches of nature, which, far from being exhausted, would multiply even beyond the demands of an increasing population.

The subjects of the country, exclusively of the privileged classes

of boyars and ecclesiastics, are the *rumuns*, (Moldavian and Wallachian peasantry and burghers), and the still more abject class of *chinganehs* or gypsies: these people are distinguished by the peculiar Ethiopian cast of features and complection which marks their race in every country in Europe; they are for the most part domestic slaves, the coachmens, cook, confectioners, bakers, and menial servants, of the nobility; bandied about according to the caprice of their brutal masters, and beaten wantonly and unmercifully: themselves are the lowest of mankind: a propensity to irregular desires indicates itself from their tender years; they are of a spiteful and malignant disposition, slovenly in their habits, and universally pilferers. Those of the *chinganehs* who are free, breed cattle and horses, manufacture spoons, or other household utensils, of wood, and carry on a small traffic in articles of common use and little value. Offences of a serious nature, such as the stealing of cattle, high-way robberies, and assassinations are generally traced to the *chinganehs*.

The *rumuns* are indeed burthened and oppressed with imposts and taxes, but they are protected in their persons, by the law, from the capricious ill-usage of individuals and private men. The municipal magistrates and the officers of government are alone empowered to inflict corporal punishment. The *rumuns* cultivate the lands of the *boyars* and other proprietors, and pay a tenth part of the produce to the land-holder. If they are dissatisfied with their master, they quit their habitations, and pass over to the estate of another with their families and moveables. But the exactions of a rapacious government cannot be warded off or eluded. "As I

traversed Moldavia," says De Tott, " I beheld them gathering the eleventh capitation for the year, although it was then but the month of October."* Under such oppressions, where every one is forced to contribute in proportion to his profits, they naturally avoid labour, of which they cannot hope to reap the fruits ; they exert no ingenuity, and apply themselves to no new branches of industry; they scarcely even retain the practice of those arts which are most essentially necessary: the mechanical arts are left to foreigners from the neighbouring states, who are protected from injustice by the influence of their own governments: the natives become indolent, because they cannot ameliorate their condition by exertion, as they become treacherous, because treachery is constantly employed to discover, and extort from them, their scanty savings. Their features are contracted by care and anxiety ; their bodies are debilitated by idleness and deficiency of nutriment ; and drunkenness, as it lightens the immediate pressure of misery, completes in them the debasement of the distinguishing faculties of rational nature.

Constitution and government.

The form of government established in both principalities is that of a limited monarchy. The prince represents the sovereign, and the *divan*, which is composed of the principal *boyars*, the senate. The power of the prince is, however, only controllable in his financial operations, in fixing the rate of contributions, or determining the mode of raising them: these must be conducted with the advice

* Memoirs, V. ii. p. 29.

and consent of the council, and if they are unanimous, they overrule the opinion of the prince.

The prince, though restrained in the power of levying arbitrary exactions, is invested in every other respect with regal, though precarious, authority. He assumes the state and magnificence of a sovereign. The Porte confers on him the title of *vaivoda*, a Sclavonic name originally signifying the general of an army, but given by the kings of Poland to the governors of provinces. The dress of ceremony of the princes of Moldavia and Wallachia differs from that of the Turkish governors only in the covering of the head. They formerly wore in their caps the *sorgudj*, or plume of heron's feathers set in a crest of diamonds, in imitation of the Ottoman sultans; but at the present day, though they adorn with these insignia their portraits which are suspended in the churches, yet they are careful not to offend the scrupulous eyes of the Mussulmans. Vaivoda or prince;

The prince holds a court every day, where he sits for a short time, surrounded by his officers, to administer justice and to decide controversies between his subjects. His commands are received with the most obsequious deference: he has full power of life and death over all; and inflicts whatever punishment he pleases on the guilty or the disobedient. No complaints are received at the Ottoman Porte against this authorized agent of government, even for the murder of an innocent person, whatever may have been his rank in society. The staff of authority is always placed beside the throne, and if the prince be of a choleric and impetuous disposition, it excites no surprize to see him yield to the emotions of anger, and

apply with his own hand, an adequate number of blows to the heads or shoulders of his principal courtiers or ministers of state.* He appoints to the administration of the royal domains according to his own pleasure, and disposes of the revenues of the lands and villages for his own purposes.

ceremony of inauguration,

The princes of Moldavia and Wallachia receive their investiture at the Porte with the pomp and ceremonies usually observed on creating *pashas* and *vizirs*. The *kukka*, or military crest, is put on their heads by the *muhzur aga*, an officer of the janizaries attached to the service of the grand vizir, and the robe of honour is put on them by the vizir himself. They are honoured with the standards and military music, and make their oaths of allegiance and fidelity in the presence of the sultan, to whom they are introduced with the ceremonies usual at a public audience.

* See Osservazioni, &c. p. 161.

I was at Yassy when punishment was inflicted on the *cassab bashi*, a boyar of the first class, who had undertaken the contract for supplying the city with animal food, and against whom complaints had been carried before the prince, because of the unwholesome quality of the provisions which he furnished. I was not indeed present at this exhibition of executive discipline, but the story was related in the company of persons who acknowledged the circumstances of it to be conformable to the usages of the court. The boyar was led into the great hall of the palace, and immediately threw himself at the feet of the prince, as he advanced towards him holding in his hand his sceptre or staff of authority. The prince, however, continued for some time to distribute his blows at random on the body of the culprit, retreating all the while in order to prevent the boyar, who kept crawling after him, from kissing his feet, and obtaining forgiveness before he had sufficiently expiated his offence. I went purposely to the shambles on the next day, and saw full proof of his Highness's admonitions having produced a very salutary effect.

From the seraglio they go in solemn and ostentatious procession to the patriarchal church, where prayers and ceremonies are performed similar to those which were formerly observed at the inauguration of the Greek emperors. They are accompanied to their principalities by the Turkish officers appointed to install them. They make their public entry into the capital of their new sovereignty with a great display of magnificence, attended by the metropolitan and dignified ecclesiastics, the members of the divan, and the chief boyars. They assume, from the ceremonies which are practised, the title of "God's Anointed;" but this vain pageant, this painted bubble, raised by intrigue, by purchase, or by favour, dependent on a breath, removable at the will of a tyrant, and reducible to its original nothing, is conducted to a mimic throne by the Turkish officer, who witnesses and ridicules the vanity of the slave, whom his hand raises to authority and invests with dignity.*

The court of the prince is composed of persons in office and the provincial nobility, but more especially of the flock of harpies, who, forsaking the shores of the Bosphorus under the auspices of the new fangled sovereign, have lighted on the tables, and sate their ravenous appetites with the substance, of wretches more hopeless of relief, and no less worn by hunger and misery, than Phineus himself. It is difficult to recognize the abject *rayah* in the Greek sillily basking in the blaze of Oriental pomp, and indulging in all the pride and insolence of authority and office. A splendid equipage, a train of servants, power to oppress, and the

court,

* See Cantemir's Ottoman history, p. 189. note.

means of extortion develope all the vices of character which penury and servile dependence had before depressed. The Greek, who at Constantinople had excited pity or contempt, raises disgust and abhorrence at Bukarest and Yassy. It will naturally be imagined, that a court thus vitiated in its constituent parts cannot exhibit an assemblage of elegance and urbanity: great indeed must be the apathy of the European spectator, who can witness, without experiencing correspondent emotions, the ridiculous combination of all that is grotesque in ceremony, with all that is vulgar in manners; all that is fulsome in adulation, with all that is contemptible in vanity, and hateful in overbearing self-sufficiency. Idleness and vanity have introduced and established the custom, in the capitals of each principality, of passing the morning in attendance at the prince's levee. The apes of fashion crowd the court, and fill up the vacancy of their lives by conversation void of interest, and the awkward display of self-importance; and so contagious is the example, that even the foreign merchants hurry from their avocations to present themselves at the palace of the prince, lest perhaps their servants should disdain to wear a livery which is not exposed every day in the avenues of the court.

officers of state,

The chief officer of the court is the *postelnik*, or marshal: he is usually a Greek, and is the chief medium of communication with the prince, as well on subjects of business, as for the distribution of favours. He carries the mace before the prince in public ceremonies, and remains standing on the side of the throne. The *commisso*, or master of the horse, is also a Greek: his most important function is on the festival of Saint George, when, in imitation of

the customs of the Ottoman court, the horses are led out to grass: the *commisso* closes the procession, mounted on the horse which the prince on the day of his public audience had been honoured with from the Sultan's stables, and which, as well in the stables as in all public ceremonies, occupies, in right of its former master, the place of honour. The *grammaticos*, or Greek secretary, corresponds with the prince's residents at the Porte on public business, and employs a great number of subaltern clerks in writing official and complimentary letters to the public agents in the principality and the neighbouring province. The *portar-bashi* officiates as master of the ceremonies to all Turks of distinction: he introduces them to the prince's audience, and carefully attends to the performance of all the honours and services which they are qualified to expect or require. These, as also the chief boyars and other great officers, wear their beards.

The prince's body guard consists of *delhis*, and *tufenkgis* (musqueteers). These men are chiefly Albanians of the Greek communion, who, like their Mahometan countrymen, enlist as mercenaries in service of whatever nature which offers a proportionate reward: they interfere in all the intestine dissentions of the empire, and they unite with the bands of robbers who infest the Turkish provinces. The Albanians, whose ancestors embraced the religion of Mahomet only to avoid the greater evil of a general proscription, are negligent in their observance of its practices, and unsteady in their belief. Professed Mahometans have even related to me the miracles of Christian saints in behalf of the independence of their

and body-guards.

country when it was invaded by the Turks, though Mahometan Albanians disdain to accept of service under a Christian. Those who are engaged in the service of the princes are fellows of determined courage, expert in the use of their fire-arms, and marked with scars gained in war or robbery: they seem indeed scarcely to make any distinction between these different professions, but, as both are dangerous, so they esteem them almost equally honourable. Some Christian Albanians, who served as an escort to a Greek prince with whom I once travelled through a part of Turkey, boasted of their atchievements in plundering the caravans, and pointed out to me the spot where they had lain in ambuscade in one of the defiles of the Hæmus, *balkan*. Prince Ipsilanti, to reward the fidelity of a Sclavonian who had served him as a gardener, raised a company of Sclavonians, on his being appointed to the principality of Wallachia in 1802, and these men do duty in his palace at Bukarest, and officiate as his body-guard. Their insolence surpasses even that of the Turkish soldiery. I saw a party of these lawless ruffians returning in triumph from having avenged the honour of their corps by the infliction of a degrading punishment on a *boyar*. One of their company had pursued a girl into the house of her master, but had been forced to abandon the pursuit, and after some rough treatment, which his behaviour necessitated, had been thrust out of the house by the servants of the family. The crime was expiated, under the authorization of the prince himself, by the boyar publicly undergoing in the court-yard of his own house, and in the presence of the populace, the punishment of the bastinado on the soles of his feet.

The president of the divan in each principality is the archbishop or metropolitan, who is considered as the head and oracle of the law, because of the ascendancy of his sacred character over the minds of an uncultivated and superstitious people. The other members of the divan are the great public functionaries, whose titles of *dvornik-mare, logotheti-mare, spathari* or *hetman, vestiar-mare,* &c. correspond with those of chief justice, chancellor, generalissimo, and treasurer. Many of these officers are men of the first class of nobility, and natives of the country, especially the treasurer, in whose situation an intimate acquaintance with the financial resources, and the most efficacious methods of extortion is essentially necessary. The inferior members of the divan have no voice either in deliberating, or in deciding, on any measure: they merely affix their signature to all public acts. Divan or council:

The divan is the high court of judicature. It receives appeals from the inferior tribunals, and its sentence, if confirmed by the prince in the extraordinary sitting which is held twice in every week, is final. The criminal tribunal is composed of noblemen of the second class, who must have passed through the inferior offices of the divan. All criminal proceedings are examined every Saturday by the prince himself, who is attended on this occasion by the *armasc,* or governor of the public prisons. The usual punishments for slight offences are whipping, or public labour for a length of time proportioned to the nature of the crime: in instances of greater enormities the guilty person is punished with the loss of his ears, and is sentenced to work in the salt mines for the re- its departments.

mainder of his life. The punishment of death, though not wholly abolished, is rarely inflicted; but when the circumstances of the case seem to render necessary so dreadful an example the law has expressly ordained, that the governor of the public prisons, even after the sentence of death against the criminal has been delivered to him in writing, shall present himself before the prince three several times, and at each time shall repeat the solemn inquiry, whether the prince persists in his determination of shedding human blood. If this wise and salutary regulation be due to Prince Alexander Ipsilanti, it is just that his name descend to posterity among those of the benefactors of mankind; and if his successors suffer it to fall into disuse or to degenerate into a form of office, they will deserve the hatred of all good men, and their memory will be held in execration.*

Boyars or nobility.

The boyars, who compose the divan, and who arrogantly assume the rank and honours of hereditary grandees of the country, are in reality only rich proprietors and unfeeling tax-gatherers. The boyars of the most ancient families indeed assert, that they are the descendants of the Slavi, and are of a distinct race from the people, who have sprung from the alliances of the Romans with the original Dacians; but the chief distinction among the nobles is their wealth and possessions. The great majority of the Moldavian and Wallachian nobility owe their creation to the sultan's *vaivodas*, for even these ephemeral beings, these fleeting shadows of royalty, are presumed to confer by their breath a permanency of

* See Osservazioni, &c. p. 148.

dignity; and the man whom once they have delighted to honour, retains, after his removal from office, the title, the honours, and even the privileges of nobility.

Powers of the divan.

The collective powers of the nobles, considered as a corporate body represented by the divan or great council, are specious and nugatory. The divan indeed appears to intermeddle in the management of public affairs, but it possesses no real authority; for every thing is in fact conducted by the prince and his ministers. The divan is more especially authorized to superintend and control the receipts and expenditures of the public treasure, and the signatures of its members are necessary to give authenticity to the annual statement of the accounts. Yet their signatures are a mere formality, which in fact serves no other purpose than to prevent the boyars from making representations to the Porte against the prince's government, as it virtually annuls any accusation on their part of his having harassed the country by oppressive taxes, or levied contributions without their concurrence.

Classes and privileges of the boyars.

The Greeks, who share among themselves the magistracies and other public employments of wealth and dignity, are all removed from office when their patron is deposed, and are obliged to quit the province, unless they can obtain the consent of his successor to their remaining behind, in which case they engage themselves by a solemn oath not to interfere with, or obstruct, the operations of his government, nor to carry on plots or intrigues against his person and authority. If they have married women of the country possessed of landed estates, and have continued peaceable and

undisturbed through three successive reigns, they are reputed to have become naturalized, and rank among the boyars or nobility. The nobility, as well as the secular and monastic clergy, are exempt, except in the event of extraordinary demands, from all imposts, taxes, and contributions whatever. The boyars in their individual capacity, tremble before the authority of the prince: they cross themselves when they enter the palace, in order to avert the dangers which beset them: on approaching the presence chamber they compose their features and attitude into the expression of servile respect: few among them are permitted to kiss the prince's hand, and many esteem it an honour to be allowed to touch his robe, or his feet.

Turkish magistrates.

There are no Turkish garrisons in the interior of either principality. They are, however, surrounded by fortresses, both on the Danube and the Dniester, which are commanded and garrisoned by Turks, who also exercise a civil jurisdiction over the surrounding territory to a certain extent.*

* *Chotin*, is situated on the Dniester, at the foot of the mountain which stands on the right side of the river over against Kaminiec. It was formerly considered as the bulwark of the Turkish empire against the Russians and Poles, though De Tott, who examined its fortifications, was of opinion, that it could not hold out three days against a regular attack. The pashalik of Chotin, is separated from Moldavia by the Pruth.—*Bender*, in Bessarabia, is famous in modern history for being the chief residence of Charles the Twelfth after his defeat at the battle of Pultowa. The Roman military road terminated at Bender, or Tigine. Since the Dniester has become the frontier of the Turkish and Russian empires, the Russians have built the town and fortress of Tyraspol on the side of the river opposite to Bender.—*Akkierman*, which is also called *Bielgorod*, is at the mouth of the Dniester. The Russians have built and fortified a town on the opposite shore, to which they have

The jurisdiction of the princes of Moldaviea and Wallachia do not extend to the waters of the Danube, so that there is, of necessity, a Turkish magistrate constantly residing at Galatz, in order to determine disputes or litigations which may arise between the natives and Mussulman traders, and to punish offences committed beyond the boundaries of the prince's territories. It is not permitted to Mussulmans to make a fixed residence in either principality. Those whom commercial or state affairs occasion to pass through, or make a short abode in, the country, are lodged in the *khans* or hotels expressly built for their accommodation in Yassy and Bukarest, which are maintained at the expense of government.

The *divan effendi*, or Turkish secretary, is the only Mussulman in the service of the prince. His business is to write official dispatches to the Ottoman Porte, to read and translate the firmans or orders of government, and to give judgment, (jointly, if required,

given the name of *Ovidiopol*, from a supposition (founded on a misnomer of the Moldavians, who call a lake near Akkierman *Lacul Ovidului*, and reasoning too futile to require confutation), that it was the place of the banishment and death of the Roman poet. *Kilia* is situated, at about three leagues from the Black Sea, on the left bank of one of the five mouths of the Danube, which, as well as the right branch, is navigable for vessels of great burthen.—*Ismaël*, in Bessarabia, is situated on the North side of the Danube: it was here that the merciless Suwarow massacred, without distinction of age or sex, the garrison and the inhabitants, after carrying the place by storm in 1790.—*Ibraïl* is situated in Wallachia in the angle formed by the Siret and the Danube.—*Girgova* is also in Wallachia, opposite to Ruschiuk. The Austrian troops who had taken possession of this fortress during the last war, were surprised and driven from it by the Turks, who crossed the Danube, and attacked them in the night.

with a cadi dispatched for the purpose from one of the neighbouring fortresses,) in all disputes, in which the interests of Mussulmans are involved. The *divan effendi*, though ostensibly an agent of the prince, and receiving a large salary for his services, is however to be considered rather as an officer of the Porte, and an authorized inspector over the prince's conduct. His influence is consequently great, and by overawing the prince by his presence, he assures the observance of that submission and respect for the turban, which is the first and most durable impression on the minds of the Greeks.

Officers civil and military.

The commander in chief of the national force is named *hetman* in Moldavia, and *spathari* in Wallachia. The militia in each principality is estimated at six thousand men, infantry and cavalry. Once a year each man receives a sufficient quantity of cloth for a vest or outward garment: their horses, arms, and accoutrements, are provided at their own expense. The advantage which they derive from their profession is an exemption from taxation; but nothing can be imagined more vile and contemptible than such a soldiery. They are commanded by captains appointed by the *hetman* or *spathari*, and are dispersed in the capitals and in different posts in both provinces.

As military governor of the capital the *hetman* is honoured with the *neubeth* or Moldavian music.* He holds a court, and has a

* The princes, as well as the Turkish pashas, have a band of Turkish musicians, who play military music every afternoon in the court-yard of the palace.

prison in his own house; he is empowered to inflict corporal chastisement or pecuniary fine: his office is consequently lucrative, and his authority extensive, and being next in dignity to that of the prince, is usually conferred on a Greek, a relation or favourite of the reigning prince.

The *logothetis* are the heads of the office of chaucery: they keep the public registers, issue all diplomas, and have an immediate jurisdiction over the numerous convents and the recluse of both sexes. The chief *logotheti* is keeper of the great seal. The arms of Moldavia are the head of an ox. Those of Wallachia, a raven standing on a hill, holding a cross in its beak, between the sun and moon.

The *dvorniks*, or chief judges, are men versed in the practices of the divan and courts of law, and acquainted with the laws and usages of the country. They name the judges of the departments.

The *vestiari*, or grand treasurer, is removable from office as well as the other ministers of state; but the third treasurer, who principally conducts the business, and whose situation requires experience and local knowledge, is considered as permanently possessed of his office.

The *armasc*, or governor of the public prisons, exercises an immediate jurisdiction over the *chinganehs* or gypsies.

Laws and police.

The laws of Moldavia and Wallachia are professedly those of the code of Justinian, but they are neither studied, understood, nor followed. All suits are determined according to precedent and established usage, which are unwritten and arbitrary. The judges constantly refer to the practices of the court and capricious traditions, so that all decisions are ultimately left at the mercy of the reigning prince. Hence naturally arise confusion and disorder; for as the sentence of a prince is not binding on his successor, contestations are interminable, and are continually reproduced. Suitors present their petitions to the prince in public or in private, according to the rank of the petitioner, the nature of the case, or the character of the prince. These memorials are read by the third chancellor, docketed, and referred to the appropriate tribunal, or to a prelate, if the case properly falls under the cognizance of an ecclesiastical judge. If the parties acquiesce in the sentence, it is definitive; otherwise appeal is left open to the divan, and thence again to the prince in council.

The *aga*, general of infantry, is also lieutenant of police: his inspection extends over the capital, its suburbs, and the neighbouring district. He is the intendant general of commerce, makes inquisition into the state of the public markets, examines the weights and measures, and the quality of the provisions exposed to sale. He punishes fraud in the dealers; and being always attended by his officers, inflicts the bastinado summarily, and in the public streets. He also exercises a severe and vexatious jurisdiction over the miserable women who purchase from him and his

minions the privilege of living in the avowed profession of infamy.

The *ispravnic* is the civil magistrate of the capital, whose duty is also to levy the contributions in kind which are furnished by both provinces for the use of the city of Constantinople.

Revenue and taxes.

The chief sources of revenue are the capitation tax, the salt-mines, the custom duties, and the taxes on pasturage, bees, wine, and tobacco. The capitation in Moldavia is collected every month, and in Wallachia every three months. The inhabitants are taxed, not individually, but by communities or villages: they fix among themselves the rate of each man's contribution, and pay it by the hands of the head-borough, *porcalabo*, a word which seems to be derived from the latin *parochus*, as it denotes the exercise of the same functions. When a community is taxed beyond its means, the inhabitants represent their grievances to the *ispravnic* of the district, and if their complaint be disregarded, they have no alternative but in abandoning their village, and dispersing themselves in different parts of the country.

The custom of farming the taxes is universal: the contractors advance a certain portion of the purchase money, and engage to complete their payments by instalments. As the defenceless peasantry are alone liable to taxation, the farmers, or contractors, are under no restrictions as to the means to be employed in collecting the taxes, but are empowered to exercise every expedient

which fraud or violence may dictate, in order to extort the last mite from the oppressed subject.*

The chief expenses are the charges of the national government, the payment of the tribute, and the annual presents to the sultan and the ministers of the Porte. The surplus which remains to the prince, is said to amount to a million of piastres; but it is liable to incalculable deductions for the expenses of maintaining his agents at the Porte, and the secret services which the ambition of rival candidates makes essentially necessary.

Capital cities.

The capital city of the principality of Wallachia is Bukarest, and that of Moldavia is Yassy. Bukarest is situated on the Dumbovitza, a small river, not navigable except for floats and rafts; and Yassy is situated on the Baslui, which runs into the Pruth.

* The produce of the farms of the different taxes in Wallachia (in the year 1782) and in Moldavia (in the year 1785) was as follows,

	Wallachia.	Moldavia.
Poll-tax on the peasantry - - - Piastres.	2,200,000	1,775,000
Poll-tax on the *masili*, (small land-holders) and the merchants - - - - - - -	200,000	25,000
Poll-tax on 13,000 emigrant families from Transylvania, who pay less than the natives - - -	140,000	
Salt mines - - - - - - - -	300,000	300,000
Custom duties - - - - - - -	200,000	200,000
Tax on the pasturage of sheep and cattle - -	280,000	170,000
Tax on bees - - - - - - -	70,000	120,000
Tax on wine - - - - - - -	60,000	200,000
Tax on tobacco, &c. - - - - - -	60,000	50,000
	3,510,000	2,840,000

Both cities resemble extensive villages, rather than the seats of government. In each, the churches and convents form the most conspicuous feature; and the palaces of the boyars, surrounded with their spacious courts and gardens, contrast in an unpleasing manner with the habitations of the people which bespeak the utmost misery. . The walls of the religious houses are covered with grotesque representations of saints and the histories of their miracles. The churches are heavy and inelegant buildings, bedecked, in their inside, with pictures which, though they may perhaps inspire devotion, yet more certainly tend to vitiate the taste and judgment. In the cathedral church, a throne is erected for the prince, and another, somewhat lower and less elegant, for the princess. The monasteries and convents, being surrounded with solid and lofty walls, serve as retreats to the inhabitants in times of danger, and secure the more valuable property of the merchant from fire and plunder. The houses of the principal boyars are built for the most part of brick, plastered and white-washed. It was formerly the custom to cover the roofs of the houses with shingles, but the use of tiles is now become more general. The principal rooms are heated, as in Russia, Poland, and Germany, with stoves. The *bazar*, or general market, consists of several streets covered with a shed: the shops are numerous, and are generally well supplied with merchandize and wares of every kind. There are also shops in several of the principal streets, but the most numerous, and the most frequented, are the taverns and cellars, in which the common people become familiarized with the practice of every kind of debauchery, and the inordinate use of wine and ardent spirits.

On entering the cities of Bukarest and Yassy the traveller observes the singular and extravagant custom of flooring the streets with thick beams of the finest oak, which form a kind of wooden bridge. Nothing can more strikingly indicate the improvident character of despotism than such a custom. With the most constant care, it would be difficult to remedy the effect of continual decay, which makes the passage of the streets inconvenient to those who go in carriages, and even dangerous to the foot passengers. The waste of so much fine timber, which must be replaced throughout the whole city every five or six years, cannot be justified by any necessity. The inhabitants indeed have been taught to believe and to repeat, that it is impracticable to lay a solid pavement on a boggy soil; but it will with difficulty be admitted, that the peculiar nature of the soil should oppose the same obstacles in two cities so distant from each other as Bukarest and Yassy, and which exist in no other part of Europe. The short-sightedness of despotism, which impoverishes posterity to diminish the expense of the present day, which endeavours to proportion its labour to the term of its own existence, can alone reconcile itself to the employment of measures so destructive of the wealth and prosperity of the country. Another consequence which naturally results from this wasteful application of palliatives to an evil so easily to be removed, is that the air of both capitals is necessarily polluted with the vapours of the filth and stagnant waters which collect under the flooring of the streets. Hence both Bukarest and Yassy are rendered unwholesome, and the inhabitants are constantly afflicted with intermittent, bilious, and putrid, fevers. None but the common people stir out on foot: an equi-

page is indeed an article of necessity, as much as of luxury, but the motion experienced in going in a carriage, (wherever the streets, as it continually happens, are out of repair,) requires the passenger to be constantly on his guard ; for the horses occasionally plunge as deep as their chests into a bog of filthy water, in almost every street of the city, except that which leads to the prince's palace ; and it is as much with a view to prevent inconvenience or danger from this circumstance, as from etiquette, that men of a certain rank, and the foreign consuls, are preceded by servants, carrying before their carriages a kind of torch *maschallah* peculiar to those countries, which burns several hours in the hardest shower of rain without being extinguished.

Yassy is surrounded by hills of the greatest beauty which afford the finest situations for country seats, but which, in most instances, are occupied by monasteries.

In matters of religion the government of both principalities, in imitation of, or in obedience to, the Turkish maxims, exercises toleration. The catholics are numerous, and are distinguished from the other inhabitants by the greater regularity of their conduct. The catholics were formerly under the protection of the kings of Poland, but as it was stipulated in the treaty of Yassy that foreigners should not possess landed property, their religion was placed under the common protection of the national government. All other sects and religions are equally tolerated : the Lutherans have a church in Bukarest, and the Jews a great number of synagogues in both provinces.

Public establishments.

In Yassy, as well as in Bukarest, there are physicians maintained at the expense of the public, to whom every inhabitant is authorized to apply for advice or assistance: there are also public hospitals, but the lowest state of misery can scarcely induce the diseased to apply for admission: public institutions of this nature cannot indeed be expected to produce beneficial effects in so depraved a state of society. Education is in the hands of the priests, but the whole of their knowledge is comprised in absurd and superstitious opinions, and the morality which they inculcate is slavish and unmanly.

The princes are compelled, for the convenience of the officers and messengers of the Turkish government, to keep up a numerous establishment of post horses. The post houses in both principalities are usually at the distance of four hours, or leagues, from each other. The mode of travelling post is in a light cart drawn by four horses: it is indeed expeditious, but fatiguing and unpleasant, as the traveller is inevitably bespattered with mud, or covered with dust, and the post carriages, which are slightly constructed, and only held together with wooden pegs, continually break down, and are easily overturned. The expense of travelling post is but ten aspers an hour for each horse, or about two shillings of our money for a stage of twelve miles with four horses. The roads, in certain seasons of the year, are so bad, that I entered Bukarest with thirteen horses harnessed to the same carriage, which, through the greatest part of Germany, had only required two. The cabinet couriers, whom the princes dispatch to Con-

stantinople, are called *calarasch:* others, who are employed only in the principalities, are called *lipcan.*

The education of the boyars is little superior in point of real utility to that of the common people. The children are instructed by priests in the houses of their parents, and are surrounded by *chinganehs,* who corrupt them by abject servility, and a base compliance with all their caprices. Formed by such tutors they issue out into a world of hypocrisy and vice, without one just principle to regulate their conduct, without one generous purpose, or honourable sentiment. They adopt indiscriminately the vices of the Greeks without inheriting the Greek vivacity, or veiling them with that delicacy which the Greeks have not wholly relinquished. They confound whatever is most degrading in luxury with the fair fruit of civilization, and in their rude adoption of European manners, they plunge into promiscuous debauchery, and indulge to excess in an unprincipled passion of gaming. Like the Poles and Hungarians the boyars inherit a taste for magnificent dresses and splendid equipages: they love balls and public entertainments, but their assemblies are rude and tumultuous. Their tables are open to every person of their acquaintance, but are inelegantly served. In the cities they are forbidden to form connections of intimacy, or even to keep up intercourse, with strangers; but I have occasionally lodged for a night in their country seats, and was always received and treated by them with a plain but decent hospitality. Manners of the Greeks and boyars.

The Greeks adopt a more than Asiatic luxury: they sleep after

dinner on their sophas, whilst a female servant fans away the flies and refreshes the air which they breathe: they exact from their attendants the respect and homage which they have observed to be paid to the Turkish grandees; but feeling within themselves no consciousness of personal worth or importance, they cannot command with Turkish dignity, and the petulance of vanity betrays itself in harsh expressions, and insulting behaviour, to their inferiors.

Deposed princes.

On the death or deposition of a prince the divan assembles, and immediately assumes the administration of the public affairs. All the creatures or dependents of the prince are removed from office, and other persons are appointed who continue in authority until the arrival of his successor. The *caimacam*, or lieutenant of the newly created prince announces the nomination of his master, but does not interfere in the affairs of government, farther than in superintending the collection of the prince's revenues. The fallen sovereign is immediately forsaken by his courtiers, is always treated with neglect, and sometimes with insult and reviling. He returns privately, and without pomp, to Constantinople, where he retires to his seat in the Fanal or on the shores of the Bosphorus. With the usual modesty of *rayahs* the princes reassume their former habits of submission, and the exterior of humility. They are followed in the streets only by a single servant; but at home they are surrounded by a princely and titled household: they allot to particular officers distinct portions of service, and pass the day in planning new schemes of ambition, or in receiving the secret homage of their clients and vassals.

In virtue of a clause in the sixteenth article of the treaty of peace, concluded at Kainargik, on the twenty-first of July 1774, the court of Russia obtained a right of interference in the internal administration of government in both principalities, and the Russian ambassadors at the Porte were authorized to superintend, and to control by their representations, even the arrangements of the Turkish cabinet respecting Moldavia and Wallachia. The same treaty granted to Russia, in like manner as to other favoured nations, the privilege of appointing consuls or commercial agents in any port or city throughout the sultan's dominions. The Ottoman Porte resisted, however, for a long time, the assumption, that this privilege extended to the inland provinces situated beyond the Danube. After long discussions the two Imperial courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg finally established their pretensions, and in the year 1781 obtained from the Porte a formal acknowledgment of their right to appoint resident ministers in the capitals of Moldavia and Wallachia. The princes themselves had secretly fomented the opposition made by the Porte, and had thrown obstacles in the way of the negociation, from an apprehension that they themselves would be restricted in the exercise of their prerogative over their subjects, by their conduct being thus submitted to the inspection and censure of foreigners. When the concession could, however, be no longer withheld, they endeavoured to console themselves for the diminution of authority by the incense which was thus offered to their vanity, in assimilating them, by these new and extraordinary appointments, to the sovereigns of the independent states of Europe. They consequently received the Imperial consuls with

Foreign relations.

all the forms and ceremonies usually observed by the Ottomans at the public audience of foreign ambassadors.*

The house of Austria, the chief object of whose government is the welfare and prosperity of its subjects, prescribed to its agents, as their principal duty, the care of improving and extending the national commerce. Various grants and privileges were obtained from the Porte, and equitable regulations were established to protect the persons and property of the Austrian subjects, both merchants and graziers, in each principality.

The commerce of Russia with the states of Turkey, though by no means inconsiderable, was, however, an object of but inferior importance to a government occupied in schemes of conquest and aggrandizement. It has been indeed unequivocally expressed, on several occasions, that the possession of both provinces entered into the views of the court of St. Petersburg. On the breaking out of the war between Russia and the Porte in the year 1711, Demetrius Cantemir was named to the principality of Moldavia,

* Germany and Russia were the only countries that availed of this privilege, (which is common to all the European powers who have treaties with the Ottoman Porte), until the French National Convention appointed as their representative a Greek of the name of Stamati, who had previously figured at the bar of the Assembly, in the procession of the deputies of the human race which was headed by Anacharsis Cloots. Citizen Stamati was however personally objectionable, and the Ottoman ministers refused to ratify the privileges conferred on an enfranchized *rayah*. A native Frenchman was therefore named consul at Bukarest in 1795, and the appointment has been regularly continued. The English ambassador at Constantinople also names an agent for the express purpose of forwarding the over-land dispatches of the East India company.

from the reliance of the Turkish cabinet on his talents for war and his tried fidelity. Cantemir, however, had scarcely taken possession of his government than he sent a trusty messenger to the Czar with an offer of himself and his principality; "esteeming it better to suffer with Christ, than to wait for the deceitful treasures of Egypt." Such is the specious colouring with which the historian endeavours to gloss over his own rebellion, but it may perhaps be doubted whether he was not actuated equally by the allurements of personal ambition, as by zeal for the interests of the Christian religion: for he had carefully stipulated in his treaty with the Czar, that the sovereignty of Moldavia, which was to be restored to its ancient extent, should be made hereditary in his family, under the auspices of the Russian monarchs. His Christian subjects listened no less than their prince to the suggestions of prudence, and preferred the dominion of the Porte to that of the Russians, whose inhumanity they had frequently experienced. The ill-success of the war thwarted the ambitious views of the Russian monarch, and Cantemir himself was saved from the resentment of the Turks only by the honourable pertinacity of Peter, who refused to surrender him; and by the artifice of the Czarina, who concealed him in her own carriage and asserted that he had quitted the camp.*

In the year 1770, when Moldavia was occupied by the Russian

* See Voltaire, Hist. de Charles XII, liv. 5.—Cantemir's Ottoman History, p. 452.—Life of Demetrius Cantemir, Prince of Moldavia.

troops under Field Marshal Count Romanzoff, her Imperial majesty, by her public letters which were read six times in all the churches, declared that the principality should remain eternally under her protection, and be no more subjected to the Turkish yoke.* Circumstances, however, compelled her to desist from her pretensions, and Bessarabia, Moldavia, and Wallachia were restored to the Ottoman Porte by the treaty of Kainargik. Some vague clauses were however inserted in order to guaranty to the inhabitants their ancient privileges, and to authorize the mediation of the Russian government in their behalf. These clauses were ratified, the rights and duties of the subjects were more fully explained, and the guarantee of Russia acknowledged, by a *khatt'y sherif*, or proclamation signed by the sultan, dated in the year 1784. The treaty of Yassy stipulated a further abridgment of the sovereignty of the Porte over the princes and the tributary inhabitants; but the Turks, who submitted with reluctance to the humiliation, have eluded a strict compliance with their engagements, and by their continual infractions of the treaty have furnished the Russians with endless subjects of complaint and remonstrance. The last act of Russia's interference was in the year 1802, when Prince Ipsilanti was promoted to the government of Wallachia, and Prince Murusi to that of Moldavia, with the express condition, which was obtained through the negociations of the Russian minister at the Porte, that neither of them should be removed from office, if they were not proved guilty of an offence that the Russian

* See Osservazioni, &c. p. 193. note.

minister should allow to be of a nature which justified their deposition. It must however be confessed, that such a state of things has by no means contributed to the advantage either of the governors or the people. The Porte is insulted by the limitations imposed on the ostensible exercise of its sovereign authority, but is not restrained in its vexations over the inhabitants. It is vain indeed to expect that the interference of foreign power between a prince and his subjects can ever be productive of beneficial effects. But it may be questioned, whether it ever entered into the contemplation of the Russian cabinet to ameliorate the condition of the inhabitants of Moldavia and Wallachia, since no instance can be produced of any exertion of influence on the part of the Russian consuls to alleviate the distresses of the people, to check and restrain the tyranny of the Greeks, or to promote any plan of permanent benefit to the oppressed inhabitants.

The present eventful crisis involves the fate of the world. On the decision of the question which is now at issue respecting Moldavia and Wallachia depends the existence of the Ottoman empire. These provinces cannot long remain under a divided sovereignty, nor can they raise themselves to independency on the powerful empires which surround them on every side. If they be restored to the Ottoman Porte, they must still owe their preservation to foreign influence, because of the weakness of the Turkish government. Under the dominion of Austria they would oppose an insurmountable barrier to the further progress of Russia. If they remain annexed to the Russian empire, the Danube will roll in

vain between the Turks and their inveterate enemies; the dissolution of the Ottoman power will inevitably follow: an event which in its consequences cannot be contemplated without exciting the most serious apprehensions.

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